

MERCY KILLING: JEAN BRUSH'S NIGHTMARE

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

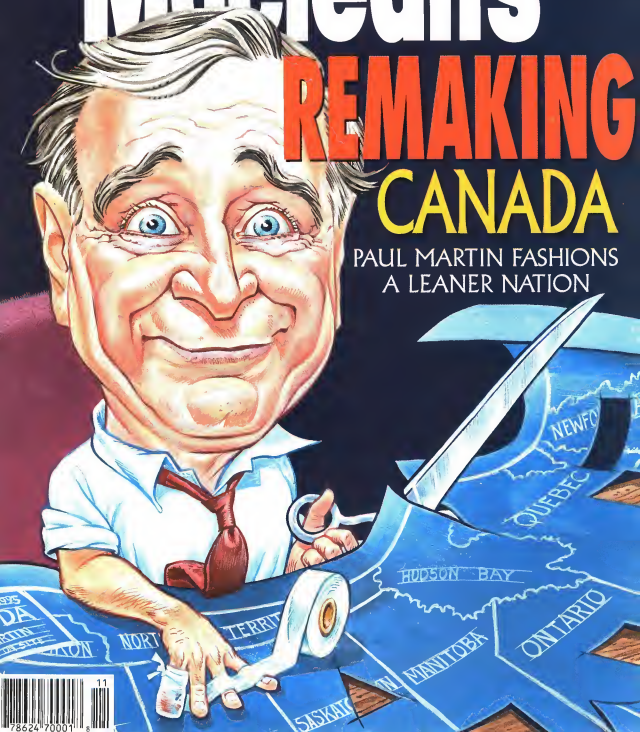
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
MARCH 13 1995 VOL. 106 NO. 11

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Remaking Canada

14 Finance Minister Paul Martin laid out the Liberal government's sweeping program for changing the nation in a budget that will shrink the size of government for the first time since the end of the Second World War. Ottawa will cut 45,000 jobs over the next three years and reduce spending on government operations by about 12 per cent.

Jean Brush's nightmare

32 A frail 80-year-old woman who killed her husband to end his terrible suffering from Alzheimer's disease is given a staggered sentence by a judge who says that she has already suffered enough.



Breaking the bank

46 Trader Nick Leeson brought down the venerable British merchant bank Barings with his high-risk derivative trading strategy. Last week, Leeson was arrested in Frankfurt, and at week's end sought extradition to Singapore. Senior bank executives are still assessing the damage.

LETTERS

Natives of Quebec

Thank you for your article "The natives say No" (Cover, Feb. 22). The *Ottawa* Presbytery of the United Church of Canada passed a motion of solidarity with Chief Matthew Coon Come on Tuesday, Feb. 22. Some of our members wanted more information. The next morning, I opened my mailbox and there it was: Your article was timely and very important to an understanding of the complicated situation in Quebec.

Ron Glen-Doyle,
Chairman of Church in Society,
Ottawa Presbytery,
United Church of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.

As chief of the Melukwé Council of Kahnawake, I must respond to your article concerning David Chloé, now in charge of the Parti Québécois's Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat, in which he claims to have "worked out arrangements with the Mohawks to regularize the existing native police forces on that nation's reserves" ("The toughest job," Cover). Chloé knows very well that this is absolutely false. The Melukwé of Kahnawake have clearly and unambiguously rejected the recent efforts of the Parti Québécois government to subjugate our police force, the Kahnawake Peace Keepers, to the *Provinciale* cause. Chloé has no credibility in the aboriginal community and we can assure you that the strong and crystal attempts by him and his government to co-opt First Nations or buy their silence will not succeed.

Chief Billy Two Rivers,
Kahnawake, Que.

'Angry Canadians'

I wish to let Peter C. Newman know that I, as a third-generation English-Canadian, deeply love Canada, and, to me, Florence Turner's "rhetoric" is absolutely irrelevant ("The poignant lament of Florence Turner," *The National's* Business, Feb. 27). We Canadians must speak out and not let Parisien and his ilk get away with their attempt to destroy Canada. We need many more angry Canadians who look "at things the way they should be, named of the way they are." Let's hope we hear from them.

Elizabeth Weniger,
Montreal



Coon Come and wife Maryann: a motion of solidarity from the United Church

Dethronement

Your Feb. 20 article "Cable hurt some" (Business) includes a reference to "the provincial Crown corporation B.C. Telecon Inc." B.C. Telecon is not and never has been a Crown corporation. It is a shareholder owned, with a majority interest held by CTE Corp. of Connecticut.

Allen Green,
North Vancouver

Pay per view

The central thesis of your article "A true television deal" (Broadcasting, Feb. 22) is that a joint venture between the CBC and Power Broadcasting Inc. in some way gives Northbridge Programming access to the CBC's library of programs at preferential prices. This is not correct. Northbridge is buying programming for two new channels, Newsworld International and TBS. Enter-tainment Network, newly launched in the United States. The programming is bought from more than 50 different suppliers, including the CBC, all on competitive commercial terms. The CBC remains constrained to price the best price it can for its product.

John Shearbridge,
Vice-president, Business affairs
and corporate development,
CBC
Toronto

Curricula vitae

In his Feb. 27 column referring to the so-called accomplishments of Ontario Premier Bob Rae's family (A *Newsweek* take on politics), *Newsweek's* aged, sexist columnist Allan Fotheringham lists political, business and diplomatic careers of the Rae men and dates

refers to Rae's sister as "a spouse of Pierre Trudeau" (In this last *Newsweek* wishes to portray a woman with significant professional career accomplishments? Outrageous columnist may well recognize, but surely some 100 standards are in order as you celebrate 90 years of publishing).

Bruce MacLellan,
Toronto

Throwing a curve

I take personal and professional exception to Bob Levin's parody of the veterinarian emphasizing "player" Dr. Richter substituting for the real doctor, Dr. Seuss ("The ringer furrow a misperception's belly," Column Feb. 22). Because of their training as a wide range of different vocations and philosophies, veterinarians would be much more qualified to substitute for their human counterparts than vice versa.

Dr. Bruce A. Rodgers,
Rong Creek, Ont.

Veritable truth

The article "Operation Veritable" (Eyeing Notes, Feb. 18) is in correctasmuch as it states that 50 years ago when the First Canadian Army led the first direct land assault on Germany during the Second World War it was composed of 13 divisions "including none from the United States." The nine divisions were British and not American.

C. B. Campbell,
Salmon Arm, B.C.

MacLellan's misdirection needs some last letter may be added for grace and clarity. Please supply correct column and telephone number. Write Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's* magazine, 177 Bay St. Toronto, Ont. M5H 3A7. Fax: (416) 593-1759. E-mail: JM.Letter@mclean.net



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COLUMN



Jean Chrétien just wimped out

BY DIANE FRANCIS

I was disappointed that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien missed an opportunity in last week's budget to dramatically chart a new course for Canada by at least acknowledging the deficit danger. His government should have laid a loan and more debt that enhanced the necessary goal of a balanced budget. Chrétien, with his enormous popularity and charm, was uniquely positioned to lead us into such pain for future gain. Instead, we got a budget that is a little lean and a little mean, a little dishonest and a little cowardly.

Chrétien's government last week failed the test but did not cut with the sword. Like the Liberal's first budget in 1994, this one contained lots of rhetoric about spending cuts and about the importance of fighting deficits. One Liberal MP actually went on television and claimed the budget contained as many cuts as would protect the social safety net. But the fact is the government has imposed damaging new taxes on Canadians in the form of taxes to AMP contributions, gasoline taxes and (just days before the budget) cigarette taxes. Do the other hand, the budget does not cut spending seriously enough, thus providing insufficient protection for our social safety net.

The budget's biggest flaw is that there is no financial solution to protect Canadians against a future recession or a possible Quebec secession crisis. While a Quebec vote in favor of secession appears to be unlikely—and is certainly unacceptable—a recession is likely before the Liberals leave office. After all, Canada and the United States have co-existed on an unimpaired period of economic growth since 1982 which already defies the normal cyclical downturn.

For another way, even if Chrétien's government succeeds in reducing the deficit to \$24 billion by the end of 1996-1997, it will likely be just in time for a period of slow, or no, economic growth. It also means that by 1997, Ottawa will have hooped another \$57

The Liberals produced a budget that was a little lean and a little mean, a little dishonest and a little cowardly

billion in debt onto our shoulders, for a total of \$69.1 billion. That guarantees more money committed for interest payments during a time of fewer revenues, thus leaving less room for Ottawa to pay higher unemployment most benefits or to stimulate the economy during the next downturn.

Even if Canada laid out and we escape both recession and secession, this budget ensures that, at least, we are only going to tread water. The announced \$12 billion worth of program cuts are only slightly less than the \$13 billion budgeted increase in interest payments.

So the budget is a disappointment. But that's not to say it is totally useless. It does create a change in direction and starts the necessary downsizing in Ottawa. But it's also a cliff, if transparent, piece of political maneuvering. Most impressive was the fact that the contents of the entire budget were leaked in the weeks leading up to the budget. That guaranteed that the bold and risky moves would not be taken by surprise. By the time the budget arrived, members had already adjusted to the bad news that deficits weren't going to be seriously attacked. This allowed the Liberals to avoid costly market-

disruptive-stroke headlines the next day and to cross about how much the financial community accepted its budget.

Equally costing were cuts aimed at opposition parties. There was a 30-per-cent chop of dairy farm subsidies designed to hurt Bloc Quebecois support in rural Quebec and the swing of military bases in federal party country in Alberta and British Columbia. Meanwhile, organized labor, pensioners and investors get off lightly. But that did not prevent the usual backbiting by the Canadian Labour Congress chief Bob White who moaned about the disappearance of 45,000 public-sector jobs.

That figure, however, does not include involuntary layoffs for the most part. Most of Ottawa's downsizing will be accomplished through across-the-board cuts. The rest of the jobs will disappear from the government payroll as a result of Conservative cuts, privatizations and privatizations. People won't necessarily lose their jobs, but Ottawa will lose responsibility for paying for them.

The bottom line is that this budget is a mix of discomfort, not the type of painful steps taken earlier. Harbinger to this was the "bottom" package announced weeks earlier by Chrétien concerning the defensible and controversial 2001 plan to pensioners elected by members of Parliament. The reforms did little to level the playing field between the defunct and elected. For instance, if Deputy Prime Minister Stephen Harper lost the next election in left politics, she would be entitled under the proposed plan to \$2.7 million in pension by the age of 75. Tary Lander Jean Chrétien, 56 years old, would be entitled to \$47.1 million per year until and a total of \$4.2 million by the age of 75 and David Johnston, \$47,682 a year until and \$3 million by 75.

Such reforms merely isolated with the status quo and avoided the tough stuff. As The National Citizens' Coalition pointed out in its recent report, MP pensions are twice as generous as anything the private sector has, an allowance benefits, 40 per cent cut of age 50 even though the rest of us are not collect Canada Pension Plan until 65 years of age. There's even talk of raising CPP eligibility in age 65.

By contrast, Alberta's Ralph Klein—slightly more popular than the Prime Minister—totally scrapped his MLA pension scheme, thus saving the way for more budgetary negotiations and pain. He and his legislative colleagues now must make 1997 cuts (including the rest of us).

At the end of the day, the budget, the Liberal pension reforms, was a weak-out. Obviously, Chrétien feels that Canadians are unwilling to make sacrifices to his greedy MPs. He is in a bind if anyone wants to get to better but nobody wants to do it. I don't believe that's true, and Alberta proves it. Canadians are more than willing to accept pain if it is clearly shared by elected and elected alike. By asking Canadians short, Jean Chrétien and his government may have done as the chance to ever make change. I hope not, but the risk has now increased.



IN DRESDEN, FREEDOM RISES FROM THE RUBBLE. Germany's greatest church, the Frauenkirche, was destroyed during Allied bombing in 1945. Where Bach and Wagner once performed, there now lies only broken rock. But recently, stonemason Franz Huber and a team of other artisans and architects began to painstakingly resurrect the city's symbol of harmony. Once IBM reconstructed

the Baroque landmark in 3-D cyberspace, the team could begin to rebuild the ruins. Guiding them is an IBM RS/6000® running CATIA®, a computer aided design tool. By 2006, the church will reach to the heavens once more, thanks to 18th century craftsmanship and a powerful 21st century tool. What can IBM help you build? Call 1 800-465-1234 (ext. 449) and find out.

REMAKING CANADA

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

A few minutes before Finance Minister Paul Martin was to deliver his budget speech in the House of Commons last week, he and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien met in Chrétien's second-floor office on Parliament Hill along with Martin's wife, Sheila, and Alex Chisholm. After a brief exchange of best wishes, the Prime Minister observed that his finance minister had forgotten the flowers in his lapel that is customarily worn on budget day. No problem suggested a Chrétien aide: the occasion would symbolize the government's commitment to restraint. But, instead, Chrétien, "we must foster tradition." After a brief speech, another aide led a bouquet of flowers to a nearby drink, nudged two red carnations and gave one to each man to wear into the Commons.

To break with the past, or honor it? To follow in the footsteps of previous finance ministers or to boldly go where few of them have gone before? Almost from the day they were elected in October, 1993, those questions have bedeviled the Liberals in general, and Martin in particular. Along with another, more crucial one: how to remake an already-triply Canada without fracturing it.

At Martin's response to that question—his budget of last week—provides the Liberals' first real attempt to deal with those issues as they come into power. Behind these decisions lies a Liberal history of strong central government and national programs that extend almost all the way back to the year of Confederation. Martin's father, Paul Sr., after all, is revered in the father of many of the government's most ambitious post-Second World War achievements. In turn, Paul Sr.'s hero, the party's legendary leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier said in a famous speech in 1897 that the policy of the Liberal party is "protect, defend and extend" the "entire body" by which we are governed. "That is the policy of the Liberal party," he has often said.

But that was then; now, the Liberals, and the country, face more uncertain and less comfortable choices. Even before Martin took his budget last week, the Liberals were non-framing governing provincial governments, a tattered popularity and a road of foreign-



BUDGET BRIEFS

- **No personal income tax increases, but gasoline taxes rise by 1.5 cents per litre**
- **Deficit set at \$37.5 billion in 1994-1995, \$32.7 billion in 1995-1996 and \$24.3 billion in 1996-1997**
- **Annual \$600-million subsidy to railways under Western Grain Transportation Act (the Atlantic Grain rate) is eliminated, but farmers given a one-time cash payout of \$2.6 billion**
- **Federal subsidies to business to be cut from \$3.8 billion this year to \$1.5 billion in 1997-1998—a 60-per-cent reduction**
- **Petro-Canada, Canadian National Railways and the country's air transportation system to be sold to the private sector**
- **About 45,000 civil servants—34 per cent of the federal workforce—No less than jobs over three years**
- **New block funding for social programs to replace cost-sharing agreements with the provinces. Overall provincial transfers will be cut by \$2.6 billion in 1996-1997**



owed debt that extends all the way around the world, with stops at the major money markets in Tokyo, London and New York City. Forty-six per cent of the federal government's \$549-billion debt—which starts at the rate of \$65,000 per minute—in foreign hands. Now, the task of Canada's politicians is not only, as Laurier said in the same speech, to keep Canadians "free and happy," but to ensure that those foreign investors feel the same way when they look at how the government is handling its finances.

Serving two disparate masters—the voters and the debt holders—is a virtual guarantee of offering both pleasure and pain. For now, the pain belongs mostly to the 45,000 federal civil servants who will lose their



Liberals cheer Martin after his budget speech: behind the minister's dilemma is a long Liberal tradition of strong central government

jobs over the next three years because of government cutbacks, along with the unemployed, welfare recipients and old age pensioners who are all likely to see cuts in their benefits in future. Some other losers include members of the arts and culture community, the Prairie provinces, where grain subsidies have been cut by \$200 billion, and Ontario and Quebec, whose leaders quickly vied with each other to see which province could feel collectively more humiliated.

And it is almost certain that there will be other tough measures to come over the next year in areas not mentioned in the budget. Although it sets the broad course of the government's action in the

near future, Martin told *Maclean's*, "It does not mean that there won't be new things that aren't mentioned in that budget that aren't going to be imposed on, or revised."

The pleasure, not surprisingly, was most evident among, where international money lenders reacted to the tough measures with satisfaction that translated into a slight rise in the value of the Canadian dollar—which ended the week at 71.08 cents U.S.—and a slight fall in interest rates. More surprising, (and some that Martin had done his job well) was also evident at home. A poll by the Angus Reid Group indicated that two out of three respondents approved of the budget, while the government's support actually increased five points—from 58 per cent to 63 per cent.

One reason for that satisfaction is that many Canadians were delighted to have been spared more direct hardship, such as an increase in personal income taxes. The sliver of such an increase was enough to leave sufficient provision of a full-blown taxpayers' revolt. Another reason is that, following the near-collapse of the New Democratic Party on the federal scene, the social-democratic movement in Canada is now largely irrelevant. The only substantive criticism of the budget nationally came from the Reform party—which called the budget "cowardly" because it did not contain even tougher measures. That made it easier for the Liberals, even as they presented the toughest budget of any federal government in recent history, to present themselves as leaders, rather than cost-cutters.

Another factor is that the full impact of the budget will only become evident as a gradual slide over the next three years. It will take that long, for example, for the government to buy out or offer early retirement to 45,000 employees, and for the planned \$25 billion in spending cuts to take full effect. Similarly, Ontario will cut 30 per cent out of the \$25 billion spent annually on unemployment insurance, but it has not yet said whether that will be by tightening the conditions for eligibility, shortening the period of time for collecting benefits or reducing the size of benefits. Over time, welfare programs which are run by the provinces, will inevitably be reduced because the federal government is also cutting the amount of money it gives the provinces to help finance the program. It is not yet clear what formula Ontario will use to apportion the money it gives the provinces. But it is almost certain that whatever formula is used will result in a more uneven, patchwork system, with each province designing its own program. Similarly, as Chrétien lashed strongly in a CBC radio interview, the National Health Act—which oversees the medicare system delivered by each province—could be rewritten to eliminate guarantees of coverage for a number of needed services that now are offered for free.

Even among Liberals, enthusiasm is, at best, muted for many of the steps to be taken. A few MPs, such as Quebec's Warren Allmand and Newfoundland's George Baker, were openly critical of the budget's emphasis on cost-cutting. Martin himself complained that some of the most painful steps were cutting the civil service. By contrast, when Brian Mulroney ran for office in 1984, he was almost gleeful in promising to deal with civil servants by giving them "pink slips and money shoes." But, said a staffer, Martin, "If you said it, I enjoy cutting jobs, the answer is absolutely not."

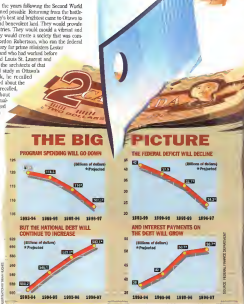
When he read his budget speech in the Commons, Liberal backbenchers, for the most part, were respectfully silent, with none of the carefully orchestrated opposition that usually accompany such speeches. The Liberal party has long been criticized for towering pragmatism over principles. The budget, meeting some of the promises in the Liberals' much-vetted election campaign Road Book, lends support to that notion. It means that Chrétien, regarded as the most tradition-bound of recent prime ministers, is also leading some of the most radical changes of any of them. But for now, Canadians, like their Prime Minister, appear prepared to believe in the need to both honor the past—and break with it. □

TRADITION OVERTURNED

BY WARREN CARAGATA

It was a time in Canada, in the years following the Second World War, when everything seemed possible. Borrowing from the battlefields of Europe, the country's best and brightest came to Ottawa to help construct a modern and benevolent land. They would provide seed money for new industries. They would conduct a vibrant and unique culture. Above all, they would create a society that was compassionate and generous. Gordon Robertson, who ran the federal bureaucracy as cabinet secretary for prime ministers Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau, and who had worked before that for John Diefenbaker and Louis St. Laurent and Mackenzie King, was one of the architects of that vision. Sitting in his sun-filled study in Ottawa's Rockcliffe district last week, he recalled that hardly anyone was worried about the cost in those days. In fact, he recalled, the only cautionary note about whether the country could actually afford what was being created came from Robert Blyden, then deputy minister of Finance, at a committee meeting at Pearson's cabinet. In the end, "It took about 30 years for Bob Blyden to be proven right," Robertson says.

The final confirmation that Canada cannot afford to be what it aspired to be, came last week, Finance Minister Paul Martin delivered a budget that he declared would finally begin to get Canada's finances in order after decades of rising deficits and national debt. "In this budget," he told senior boys in his budget address, "we are bringing government's size and structure into line with what we can afford." Even for Canadians used to budgets that hurt, Martin's budget was tough: a \$25.3-billion cut over three years, 43,000 fewer people on the federal payroll. There will be less money for such once-cherished Liberal interests as social programs, regional development and the CBC (page 20).



Pierre Canada and Canadian National Railway will survive. And even the federal two-dollar bill will disappear to be replaced by a coin. Martin also pointed to future revision of pensions, unemployment insurance and cultural agencies. For the upcoming 1995-96 fiscal year, a combination of \$4 billion in cuts and \$900 million in tax increases will leave a deficit of \$27.7 billion, with \$3 billion the following year. It was, Martin told Macdonald in a post-budget interview, a complete rethink of how Ottawa functions (page 20).

It was also a budget that shocked many of the cherished icons of past Liberal governments. That it was Paul Martin Jr. who was doing much of the shaking, broke it that much more dramatic. As a senior Liberal cabinet minister, his father and uncle, Andrew and Michael, and the others to conduct the welfare state that Martin has now started to dismantle. In his memoirs, *A Very Public Life*, the late Paul Martin recounted his fight with King "Rog" always considered himself the guardian of the public purse." Martin Jr. grandfather, never thinking that he too might some day feel the same way that in both his budget speech and in interview and Macdonald, Martin stated that he was, in fact, doing what was necessary to keep his father's legacy alive—protecting social programs from erosion by over-rising interest payments on the national debt. Interest payments for the 1995-96 fiscal year, which began on April 1, will consume \$6.5 billion, up from \$4.2 billion this year. That is more than the total spending on pensions, unemployment insurance, health care, welfare and postsecondary education. In fact, that increase in interest payments from this year to next almost matches Ottawa's spending on equalization payments to poorer provinces. "For all of us who care for the social fabric of this country," Martin told the House of Commons, "the state of the nation's finances simply has to be addressed."

Many of those who watched the Liberals attack Conservative Leader Kim Campbell during the 1993 election campaign over her promises to erase the deficit found that turned out to be wrong. They include such prominent Liberals as Montreal MP Warren Allmand and Toronto MP Charles Caccia, both of whom were cabinet ministers in the Trudeau and the Caccia cabinets. Allmand told his constituents beyond the closed doors of the Liberal caucus—despite a dress-down last week from cabinet ministers and fellow MPs "Some of the assurances in the budget are wrong and not in the tradition of the Liberal party," he said, and that few other Liberals shared the view at the critics, including that Martin's budget has laid-out a road to "grudging—support in the caucus. As Winston backbencher Marko Jovanovic and other Martin spoke in the Commons "This has been a tough budget, but it had to be done."

But the budget was more than just a move to bring the federal government closer to its goal at eliminating the deficit. It also marked a cessation of the Liberal party's return to what one strategist called the "pragmatic" return "back to where it used to be" the governments of Pierre Trudeau and John Turner. It is a place where Prime Minister Jean Chrétien clearly believes his party should be, a time he has signalled for several years and underscored by his choice of Mitchell Sharp as his mentor and adviser. It was Sharp in former minister in the Pearson government, Jean Chrétien, who advocated a postponement of universal health care until the program could be paid for. The clearest sign of a new path, according to many Liberal observers, came not in Martin's budget

last week but at a 1991 party conference in Aylmer, Que. "When we form a government," Chrétien said in his remarks opening that session, "we cannot begin from where we left off in 1984."

One indication of how thoroughly Chrétien and Martin have progressed with their reversion of Liberal doctrine was the announcement that immigrants, including refugees, will be charged a \$975 fee for the right to make Canada their home. For a family of four, it was the highest fee in the world. That move is a clear statement of intent in policy for a party that has traditionally relied on the political support of grateful newcomers, who were initially limited to Canada in large numbers by Clifford Sifton, Wilfrid Laurier's interior minister. And the measure plainly angers immigrant groups which denounced the new fee structure as the reversion of the so-called liberal law once known as *la loi des immigrants*.

Another familiar symbol of Liberal economic policy is Petro-Canada, the crown-owned of Ottawa's operations in the private sector during Trudeau's regime. In 1991, the Tories sold 30 per cent of the company, Canada's second largest integrated oil company. Now, the Liberals will dispose of the remaining 70 million shares when the market provides a favorable opportunity. The government also plans to sell the Canadian National railway system, nationalized by both Conservative and Liberal administrations at the time. Prime Minister Doug Young, an enthusiastic proponent of the new Liberal agenda, said that he hopes the move will give government a new lease on life. To show a profit of \$250 million this year, will be in private hands by year-end.

A key inheritance of past Liberal governments, with pressure from the New Democratic Party and its Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) forerunner, is the country's social safety net. But as much as Martin knows that he is ultimately trying to preserve social programs, that net will become slightly more frayed because of his budget (page 20). The biggest change is that, beginning in 1996-97, federal funding for health care, postsecondary education and welfare will come with fewer strings attached. Compared with 1986-89 levels, the provinces will get \$2.5-billion less in the first year of the new transfer and a \$4-billion reduction in the second year. The provinces could find Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow told Macdonald that social programs will become an uneven patchwork across the country. The modification of other social programs also in the budget, including changes to unemployment insurance that the government says will show a minimum of 10 per cent and save \$700 million. But the most potentially controversial step is a return of the entire pension system slated to take effect in 1997. It was pension reform that dented the Tories from significant social policy changes in their mandate. The Liberal's proposed revision follows a report released in a report that demonstrated that the Canada Pension Plan will be funded by 20/50th contribution ratio as defined in current levels.

Romanow has his doubts. The Liberals, he contends, should more clearly define the core goals of the federal government and then cut from there. Still, Romanow, whose government has just introduced a balanced budget, disagrees with critics about reverting the role of government as "social insurance" while maintaining it in the future. "There is no choice," he says, "but the public debt, the politics of the 1980s is the politics of dealing with the debt," he said.

For a long time, Gordon Robertson admits, he thought that Robert Blyden was wrong. He believed—like many others—that Canada's debt was so great that everything was affordable. He has long since changed his mind, although he cannot remember exactly when that shift took place. "I had got beyond what was really meant," he said. "And it felt beyond me to go back to what we can afford."

With GUY FOWLER in Ottawa

MAGAZINE/STARCH 13 1995 17

TOUGH MEDICINE



Leaving grain in Saskatchewan's churning wheat combines could devastate many farmers.

THE WEST

Don Kelsey farms near Chechnish, about 300 km northwest of Prince Albert, Sask., and about as far away from any port as possible on the Prairies. That means that the elimination next August of the \$600-million Crow benefit—a century-old federal subsidy that pays roughly half the rail freight charge from farm to port—will hit him particularly hard. The move will cost Kelsey about \$12,000—wiping out more than half his profits. "There have been years when some farmers haven't had that much to live on," said Kelsey, the Saskatchewan co-ordinator of the National Farmers' Union. Some of those farmers, he agrees, could be forced off the land altogether. "We're extremely disappointed," said Kelsey, "that the federal government would dissolve one of the pillars of a national transportation policy."

In the West, the elimination of the grain transportation subsidy combined with another \$850 million in cuts to farm income-support programs were the most controversial elements of what was an otherwise well-received budget. The old Crow's Nest Pact Agreement

guaranteeing farmers provincial freight rates "to perpetuity"—like the railways themselves—helped to propel settlement in the West. With the Crow benefit on its way out, the government designed a one-time \$1.6-billion payout to landowners. Many farm organizations say that is inadequate. The method of payment also may become controversial because many farmers lease their land and some of the actual landowners are banks. Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow—comparing the elimination of the Crow benefit to a relatively benign 30-per-cent cut in subsidies to control Canadian dairy farmers—completed all regional audiences.

There was also concern in British Columbia about a \$813-million cut (27 per cent) to the budget of the department of fisheries and sciences over the next three years. And there was concern about defence cuts. Martin announced that air force head-

quarters will be moved from Winnipeg to Ottawa. That will cost the city 600 jobs and an estimated \$40 million worth of economic activity each year. Martin also announced base closures in Chilliwack, B.C., and in Calgary. Most of the Calgary and Chilliwack towns will move to Edmonton, where Mayor Joe Savary called himself "the happiest mayor in Canada."

Provincial politicians were preoccupied with cuts to federal transfer payments. Alberta Treasurer Jim Dinning—who has implemented two years of hand-tightening cuts of his own—criticized the week-long Martin for his "tough-economics." But he sounded surlier after reviewing budget details, and complained that Ottawa prefers to cut health, welfare and higher education, rather than the pensions of members of Parliament. B.C. Premier Mike Harcourt came out swinging right from the start.

He said transfer cuts to British Columbia overlook the province's explosive population growth. His province, which received \$3.6 billion in 1994-1995, will take a \$500-million hit in 1996-1997. And the province of Saskatchewan (up \$39 million) and Manitoba (down \$7 million), two "have-or" provinces that rely heavily on transfer payments, seemed downright incensed. Said Manitoba's Conservative Premier Gary Filmon: "It represents a complete absence in Ottawa's recognition of its responsibility for the social safety net."

Filmon and Romanow have the most at stake in the budget. Filmon is expected to call an election within the next few weeks and Romanow will likely go to the polls in June. Pollsters elsewhere in both provinces say that Martin's budget may undermine support for their main rivals, the provincial Liberals, if there is a public backlash against the harsh measures. Exactly how some farmers really feel about the elimination of the Crow benefit may well determine how much political bite the Manitoba and Saskatchewan premiers can raise at the polls.

MARY NEMETH in Calgary

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From finding new ways to protect the environment to developing better materials to assist seniors, Alberta's professional engineers, geologists and geophysicists are shaping a brighter future. A future which will see us use science and technology in ways we never thought possible, to achieve goals that seem unachievable. As APEGGA members look toward the future, they see not obstacles to be overcome — but new and exciting challenges to be met.



In Alberta, we've got the future pegged.

The future is at hand.

Already we can see the future taking shape. Today, students can be linked by satellite to teachers in different cities, diagnostic imaging can probe deep inside the human body, and safe, comfortable homes can be built in even the most remote locations.

At the heart of these discoveries are the men and women who form the Association of Professional Engineers, Geologists, and Geophysicists of Alberta. Using their knowledge and imagination, these professionals take ideas that seem impossible and bring them to life. APEGGA members know the true value of science and technology is not found in the laboratory or the field — it's found in the way it touches people's lives.



The planet earth is their laboratory.

Earth scientists, Alberta's geophysicists are constantly probing, observing and analysing the planet we call earth. Using advanced technology, they send seismic shock waves deep into the earth's crust. They observe the planet's surface from orbiting satellites to gain clues to what lies beneath. They gather information to find out what was happening to the planet at different times in its history.

Beneath the Surface

Slowly but surely, geophysicists are mapping the subsurface terrain of planet earth. It's the kind of detective work that leads to new energy finds in oil, gas and coal as well as minerals, gems and precious metals. But the growing science of geophysics has wider applications.



By understanding what happens deep beneath the surface, scientists begin to understand how earthquakes work and when and where they're likely to occur. Geophysicists advise engineers about subsurface conditions so that buildings and dams can be built in safe and secure locations. By watching closely what happens underground, they also act as a first line of defence against environmental damage occurring beneath the surface.

Alberta's geophysicists work on a worldwide front, learning how the planet we live on can affect our lives. As our ability to impact the planet grows ever stronger, the knowledge they uncover will help us to preserve our fragile planet for future generations.

A mixture of universal theory and down-to-earth practice, geophysics owes as much to imagination as it does to investigation. Alberta Geophysicists Working towards a future that works for all of us.



Some of our top professionals have gone underground.

Unearthing ancient underground treasures. Probing for mysteries that lie beneath the surface. For many, the study of geology is a fascinating journey into the vast stretches of time that preceded human life on this planet. For Alberta's professional geologists, this important science is both an exploration into the past and a journey into the future.



Exploring New Frontiers

Home to vast reserves of underground energy, Alberta has fuelled the science of geology for over a century. Today, there are more than 2300 professional geologists practicing in Alberta. Hundreds more work worldwide.

Using advanced technology, geologists search out new reserves of oil and gas. They help the coal industry find better ways to harness this important source of energy. Hydrogeologists search for clean sources of water for communities in the developing world. The safe disposal of hazardous waste occupies geologists working on the new frontiers of environmental science.



Geology begins with the study of rocks and geologists have found fertile ground in Alberta. From the discovery of Ammonite, a valuable fossil, to an important diamond find in Alberta's hills, geologists are uncovering remarkable things. Paleontology and geology team up in the fossil rich country of Alberta's badlands as geologists assist in important dinosaur finds. In a province that depends so much on what lies beneath the surface, geologists will continue to play a major role in the Alberta of the future.

Grounded in facts, geology is also a science of intuition and often, inspiration. The most important discoveries are possible when all these qualities work together. Alberta geologists. Working towards a future that works for all of us.



In 1920 a group of Alberta professionals had a meeting of the minds.

Seventy five years ago, Alberta was a very different place. In fact, much of what we take for granted today seemed like science fiction in 1920. Fortunately, Alberta has always been blessed with people who have the ability to take what seems impossible and bring it to life. Visionaries who recognize the potential of what lies ahead, and are motivated to contribute to the unknown.

In 1920 these visionaries formed APEGGA, and set us on a journey that is still unfolding.



John A. Allen, P.Eng.
1920-1998

Frederick W. Peters, P.Eng.
1920-2002



Photo is a scene at the Fort McMurray Mine, one of Alberta's oil sands.



Our Human History

APEGGA's history is perhaps best charted by the scientific pioneers who set us on the road to discovery. People like Frederick Peters, P.Eng., APEGGA's first president, who realized the responsibility that came with scientific discovery. Through his efforts, he helped shape not only the future of the Association, but the very essence of our province.

As did Dr. John Allen, P.Eng., the professor responsible for establishing the Geology Department at the University of Alberta, and APEGGA's 11th president. He recognized early on the need for geologists to become part of the Association, especially as the extent of the province's oil and gas reserves were uncovered.

We were also blessed with people like Mundie Chertoff, P.Eng., who graduated from the University of Alberta's faculty of engineering in 1946, and in 1972 became the first female member of APEGGA's Council. Her choice of what was then an untraditional profession, has inspired countless other young women to follow suit. Through the efforts of Alberta's professional engineers, geologists, and geophysicists, the past 75 years have witnessed remarkable discoveries and advancements. From the discovery of major oil fields like Leduc #1 near Devon, to the exploration of the rich fossil fuels in Drumheller's Badlands, Albertans have learned to understand and appreciate our history.

This century has been witness to greater discoveries, and bigger scientific advancements than ever before. And we're not finished yet. In fact, for the people behind APEGGA, the adventure is just beginning.



The future is their ongoing project.

For Alberta's professional engineers, the future unfolds one project at a time. In just about every arena of human activity, engineers grapple with the laws of nature and the limits of technology, trying to find a better way. Their work often affects people in ways that are very close to home. Engineering skills help build the roads we travel on, the computers we work with, and the buildings we live in. In the 1990's as never before, engineers are at the forefront of a technological revolution.



A Better Way

From designing electric vehicles to working with microscopic life that eats oil spills, it's the engineer's job to push at the very limits of what is possible. One example is in the exciting and



rapidly growing field of health sciences. Engineers continue to make new strides in the development of prosthetic devices such as artificial limbs. A team of engineers is working closely with doctors at Edmonton's Glenrose Hospital to develop new technologies to help treat spinal curvatures—a serious developmental problem.

And along the road to development, discoveries are made, new wrinkles come to light. A breakthrough in one field is successfully applied in another. Advanced plastics created for space travel are used in industry. Civil engineering principles are used to make a building wheelchair accessible.

Today, Alberta engineers are at work all over the world—helping countries set up advanced water treatment systems for clean drinking water. Working in Eastern Europe to rebuild factories and infrastructure crucial to the economy. Developing environmentally sound ways to drill for oil.

Fact based, thoroughly disciplined, engineering is nevertheless a science of the imagination. Creative problem solving is at its very heart. Alberta

Engineers. Working towards a future that works for all of us.



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75 years and 27,000 members later, we're on the verge of a new frontier.

Artificial intelligence. Electric vehicles. Remote sensing and satellite positioning systems. APEGGA members have played an important part in many of this century's major discoveries, both at home and abroad. Today, Alberta's professional engineers, geologists and geophysicists continue to strive to improve our understanding and our utilization of the planet we live on. We know great challenges and discoveries still lie ahead.

Closer to home, our members are pioneering the development of chlorine-free pulp and paper treatments, probing deep within the earth's surface to locate new oil and gas finds, and working with doctors to develop new ways to treat spinal curvatures in children.



As we look towards a future where science plays an ever increasing role in our lives, the need to cultivate and encourage young minds becomes more important.

Sponsoring science competitions, in-school presentations, and career days are only part of our efforts. Members also participate in mentoring programs designed to encourage young people to consider science careers, and sponsor several scholarship programs to assist students interested in studying engineering and the geosciences.

As APEGGA looks to the next 75 years, we see a future filled with promise and possibility. We also see a growing need to understand and appreciate our earth. At APEGGA, the lessons of the past have taught us that shaping the future is more than a challenge — it's a responsibility.

Insightful insights. Innovation 1919-1993

APEGGA

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For 75 years APEGGA has served society by gathering, collecting and providing leadership for engineers, geologists and geophysicists to advance their professions in our province. For more information, write: APEGGA, 1200 Bechtel Place, Suite One, 30000 Jasper Avenue, Edmonton, AB T5J 6Z2



QUEBEC



A herd of Quebec dairy cattle: consumers may pay more

Like every other province, Quebec was hit hard by Finance Minister Paul Martin's move to slash federal transfer payments for health, education and other social programs. But how hard was the hit? It depends on whose numbers are used. According to federal figures, transfers to the province will be reduced by 9.3 per cent when the new system kicks into place in 1996-1997, in line with the national average and amounting to roughly 27 per cent of the total cutbacks. Quebec Finance Minister Jean Charest, however, vigorously disputed those numbers, arguing that the province is being singled out for special punishment. According to Charest, Quebec's share will reach 41.7 per cent of the cut, a figure he said will stifle economic growth and cost the province 36,000 jobs. He is the same leader the next "he" charged, in remarks obviously aimed at boosting the Parti Québécois's case for secession. "The Martin budget makes it urgent to leave the federal system for it is clear the boat is sinking."

While the outside the ranks of the PQ government and its Bloc Québécois allies in Ottawa accept Charest's numbers, it is true that the province faces major reductions in transfer payments. In cash and kind, Quebec's transfers for health, education and welfare will fall by \$765 million, dropping to \$7.4 billion in 1996-1997 from \$8.1 billion at the current year. Part of these losses, however, will be offset by a rise in equalization payments, a factor left out of Charest's calculations. Equalization payments to Quebec are scheduled to increase over the same period, to \$4.1 billion from \$3.7 billion, leading some to credit to Martin's claim that Charest's figures are "erroneous." Still, Quebec will be left with about \$650 million less in federal money in the next fiscal year, a shortfall that

will present the PQ government with the agonizing choice of either making services or raising taxes.

Martin's budget included other measures with a direct impact on Quebec. Among the most controversial was the move to phase in a 30-per-cent reduction in subsidies to dairy farmers over the next two years. Close to half of Canada's milk and milk production comes from Quebec, supplied by some 12,000 dairy farmers. Given the cutbacks take effect, Quebec's milk producers will lose roughly \$88 million in federal support payments each year. Laurent Pélissier, president of the Quebec Farmers' Union, estimated that the average milk producer in the province loses income of between \$3,000 and \$5,000 annually. And that, so far, is likely to lead to higher prices for cheese, butter, ice cream, yogurt and other milk-based products. "It's the consumer that is going to have to pay," he laments.

The closing of the St. Hubert military base south of Montreal and the scaling down of a jet fighter base at Baginville, southeast of Quebec City, will also hurt Quebec. The shrinkage at Baginville will be gradual, involving the loss of five civilian jobs and the transfer of 300 military personnel. But St. Hubert is a major operation. More than 1,500 people work at the base, 615 of them in major headquarters, which is being moved to Ottawa. The other 300 military and civilian personnel who will not relocate in the capital are expected to be absorbed by the five other military installations in and around Montreal. But the town of St. Hubert is not home to 70,000 people. Even the loss of \$4 million in lost of taxes that the defense department now pays annually for 71 buildings, an \$50,000 square metres of land it now up to the federal public works department to decide what to do with that property.

WARREN CAME in Montreal

ONTARIO

Ontario Premier Bob Rae, who has governed through the worst recession in the province since the Great Depression, has seen his party's popularity plummet to a bare 17 per cent. Now, five months in, he hopes that Ontario residents will join in the tough fiscal measures dubbed out by Finance Minister Paul Martin. Ontario will lose nearly \$4 billion in federal funding over the next three years. And in an attempt to restore his party's shattered fortunes, Rae is expected to vote on the divisive, charging that Ontario is being unfairly treated by Ottawa. The day after the budget, Rae held a news conference, made those speeches and conducted numerous interviews. His message was simple: Stay the course. "The fight for Ontario has just begun."

Under Martin's budget, federal transfers to Ontario will be cut by \$1.4 billion in fiscal 1996-1997 and \$2.2 billion in 1997-1998. As the province is forced to make corresponding cuts, the \$1.4 billion in federal transfers per sector per year could be lost in Ontario. The budget also hit Ontario hard in two other areas: Military bases in London and Toronto will close in 1996, and more than 1,000 military and civilian personnel will be laid off. As well, the province will lose 300 dairy farmers will see their federal subsidies cut by 30 per cent over the next two years, and that could cost each farmer almost \$800 a month. Still, opposition parties accused Rae of "scaremongering" as he tried to cast an issue to run on in the election. He is expected to call a snap election. "The Budget is a desperate ploy to run his election on," said provincial Conservative finance critic Dave Johnson.



Rae: Fighting mad about the cuts in transfer payments

Over the past four years, Rae has reportedly argued that changes to the Canada Assistance Plan, a complicated federal aid program, would calculate how much money a municipality in the province to help fund programs such as welfare, has lost Ontario. Now, Rae says, the new cuts in the budget will hurt Ontario even more. In fact, while the budget projected that, in total, the province will receive a 4.4-per-cent loss in transfers from Ottawa in 1996-1997, Rae said the cuts in Ontario will reach about 8.3 per cent. That is because Ontario will not share in the \$958 million in equalization payments that Ottawa will make over the next two years to the poorest provinces.

According to Graham White, a political science professor at the University of Toronto, Rae is correct in saying that Ontario has been treated unfairly. But whether Rae can use the recent issue to win over voters is another matter. "It's very easy to get lost in the numbers," said White. "Voters are also used to one level of government pointing a finger at the other level." In fact, both Ontario opposition parties seem to believe that the budget is such a non-starter in the province that they should like to call an election immediately. Last week, Rae did not say May 11

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**NEWFOUNDLAND
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as the date of a hydroelectric in the Toronto riding of St. Andrew/St. Patrick. Many polls and observers believe he will win a general election by then.

Martin's budget will also cut the subsidy that Ottawa pays to dairy farmers by 50 per cent over the next two years. Murray Brownridge, who operates a dairy farm 80 km west of Toronto, said that when the government cut the subsidy a year to farmers in the past, consumers were hit with higher prices for milk products. Still, he said he supports Martin. Admittedly Brownridge: "I think they acted responsibly." But, however, is hoping that most Ottawans will not agree.

WOM FENNELA in Toronto

ATLANTIC

Not that any man pool was needed. But last week's federal budget confirmed everything for Atlantic Canadians, it was the importance of having friends in high places. True, the region will be hit hard by cuts at everything from government jobs to transportation subsidies. All the same, the blow was not as severe as some feared. It's not for the region's over-sized claim in Ottawa—an influence that springs both from having most strong regional members to Parliament Hill and from having elected a slate of Liberal provincial governments.

Considering the much-maligned Atlantic Canada Operational Agency, which was regarded to be on the chopping block after handing a lot of embarrassing business failures throughout the region. But ACOA helps



under the wing of Cape Breton MP David Drupard, the federal Minister of Public Works and Government Services and one of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's most loyal supporters. Last week, it was announced that ACOA's budget will fall from \$222 million to \$179 million over the next three years—far less than the cuts to comparable regional development agencies in the West and Quebec.

Unsurprisingly it was, that history was dwelled in importance by others. Under the new one-stop Canada Social Transfer system, total funding to the provinces will fall by \$2.5 billion in 1996-1997. But when equalization payments are taken into account, transfers to the four Atlantic provinces will actually rise by \$74 million to \$5.1 billion next year. Nova Scotia Premier John Savage, whose province will enjoy a \$17-million increase over the next two years, diagnosed with the usual post-budget crying and declared that the changes were "fair."

WALFAK BARBERS: THE REGION WAS HELPED BY FRIENDS IN HIGH PLACES

More controversial was Ottawa's decision to see a \$99-million transportation subsidy that helps Prince Edward Island potato producers, Nova Brunswick pulp mill operators, Nova Scotia coal producers and others who ship goods west. Yet, Ottawa suffered the blow with a \$350-million program to assist the region's notoriously bad roads. As for the federal government's plans to reorganize the unemployment insurance system—the lifeblood of seasonal workers in many Atlantic communities—there was at least federal Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin's assurance that the \$1.8-billion adjustment program for unemployed fishermen and plant workers following the moratorium on cod fishing will remain untouched.

JOHN DEWONT in Halifax

LEANER OTTAWA AWAITS THE CUTS

Before last week's federal budget, predictions of a booming economic future were common in the Ottawa region. But as the weeks of Finance Minister Paul Martin's announcement that fifty-one of the 45,000 public sector jobs that will be cut in the next three years are in the capital, local business and political leaders were saying that those glossy forecasts were greatly exaggerated. The surprisingly optimistic tone in Canada's largest city was characterized by a hopeful headline in *The Ottawa Citizen*: "Capital will survive budget cuts."

Mayor Jacques Hésouin led the chorus, saying that increased dependence on the private sector is "great," and (pointing to the region's booming health and tourism industries as the engine of future economic growth) "The capital," said Hésouin, "is not just a government town any more." With the shrinking federal government, one employer, 73,336 in the capital, falls from last year's 76,000. But the region's two largest employers, Bell Canada and the federal government, are expected to reduce in size, likely offsetting or even exceeding the cuts in other sectors.



Mulaney: new jobs will suffer a bitter blow



to accept government cuts—perhaps—at a cost to the government of about \$400 million. Until the budget, real estate sales in the Ottawa area had been sluggish, with sales in January down 46 per cent from the same month a year before. But real estate agent Jean Smith predicted that the market may pick up soon. "People were prepared for a lot worse than what we saw," she said. Still, the impending layoffs will hit many families severely—meaning that many Ottawans continue to delay major decisions like buying a new house.

LINDA PERROW in Ottawa

SELLING THE PAIN

Paul Martin says Canadians believe that the deficit had to be cut

A visibly uneasy but apologetic Finance Minister Paul Martin spreaded address across a photo club in his office last week and spent 90 min with press, but his budget with Mulaney's Ontario Editor Anthony Walsh-Smith and Correspondents Warren Campbell and E. Kaye Pollock. Excerpt.

Mulaney's: How worried were you about public reaction, both at home and on international markets, before the release of the budget?

Martin: I felt very good about the budget in terms of Canadians. I was confident they would react well. I thought the markets would, too, but the markets are unpredictable, and I didn't have the same degree of confidence.

Mulaney's: It is many years, you said in remarks the interests of two completely different people: the Canadian who depends on government programs, and the international market that needs a new government reduced.

Martin: That reconciliation might have been more difficult a year ago, but there has been a steady increase of investment in the past year in Canada of what the deficit threat could mean. So, by and large, Canadians and the markets felt the same way. Mulaney's: If you did all the new information in a year ago, would you have predicted the budget then, or would you wait?

Martin: This budget was not possible a year ago. The only way to reduce the deficit to the extent to reduce structural change in the government and federal government's spending. You can't do that within 60 days of taking office.

Mulaney's: Did some people say you're a 1980s man?

Martin: That's absolute bull. We didn't waste any time at all. We came in, took office, and implemented profound structural change to reduce and unemployment insurance. Then we undertook profound structural program review. Anybody who thinks you can make this kind of profound change in a large institution and do that within two weeks is crazy.

Mulaney's: Did what about when you got to the 1997 budget? Won't there be pressure within cabinet to put the deficit reduction and debt?

Martin: That's not where the Canadian people are. Canadians don't want to see their governments' unending spending programs.

Mulaney's: But there are lots of ways to go after more, but can, for example.

Martin: Sure, ultimately, I'd like to see a tax cut.

Mulaney's: How close were we to having some kind of personal income tax increase or not? And how much of a factor was that of a tax cut?



Martin in Ottawa: "We are never going to have a tax increase"

tax because we are just showing interest in the first to pay interest on our loans that for a long time we have not faced up to.

Mulaney's: Does this budget amount to a reversion of the Liberal party?

Martin: The Liberal party is in a constant process of reformation. My hero is my father, and the Liberal party of today is much different than the one he helped to lead. My father's greatest hero was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the Liberal party of my father was radically different from the party of Laurier. That's the definition of a party that is alive. A party that is not reversioning itself is brain-dead.

Mulaney's: But is the party reversioning its belief in strong central government?

Martin: What makes a strong central government? Spending power. How powerful is the spending power when you have to borrow money? The strength of the federal government, surely must reside in its ability to lend the nation to a common vision and a healthy balance sheet. If it doesn't have a vision, it can't lead the nation, and if it doesn't have a healthy balance sheet, nobody's going to listen to it. It

CENTRIFUGAL FORCES

BY MARY JANIGAN

The debt has forced Ottawa to shift more to the provinces

Even for a politician on the brink of a tough election, Bob Rae was unusually harsh in his denunciation of the federal budget. "It's nothing less than the true meaning of the partnership that has built courage and compassion in the province of Ontario," he warned last week. The premier argued that the budget shifted his province, shifting its transfer payments for basic social services. But as the numbers flow and as the premier struggled to make his case that Ontario has been singled out, the sheer complications of his argument became apparent. "What we want to do is to explain to people that transfer cuts are not some bizarre, crazy, crazy justice. This is money that health schools, hospitals, colleges, universities and welfare," said the premier's communications director Murray Wepler. "We will try to say that people are either going to have to accept fewer services or pay more taxes. But to me, it's not an either/or. It's a transfer payment."

Such arguments are like sweet music to the ears of federal liberals. In a few brief budget paragraphs last week, they overhauled the very foundation of Canada's entire postwar social safety net. The Liberals probably had no choice. The federal loans were worsening a bad fiscal situation, year after year. But their suggested remedy is controversial—and as all implications are difficult to forecast. Starting in the 1996-1997 fiscal year, the budget will take two cooling programs that transfer money to the provinces for health, postsecondary education and welfare—and then do them into a new "Canada Social Transfer" (CST). Seven billion dollars will be cut from new programs, by the 1997-1998 fiscal year. To compensate for these cuts, Ottawa will drop most of the conditions that it imposes on provincial welfare. It also plans to share at least 10 per cent from the unemployment insurance tax and to eventually scale back services in the old age pensions of welfare in Canada.

These measures will likely slash Ottawa's very presence in the nation's life. The federal government argues that this is the only sensible way to control the deficit, to merge out-of-date policies and to preserve Ottawa's clout in the social policy field. As Human Resources Development Minister Lloyd Axworthy told *Maclean's*: "The most effective way to reduce the federal presence was to consoli-

date all of the resources, cash and tax points, to maintain some leverage. I am disappointed with the left in this country. They equate questions of justice, opportunity and equity with old programs." Ottawa could not count on that sentiment, that an era was passing—and that the change itself might be the power for the other side. Said Saskatchewan's New Democratic Party Premier Roy Romanow: "This is a major backward step in ending a characteristic—namely, social progress."



WINNERS AND LOSERS

Where it comes to federal transfers to the provinces and territories, some regions stand to lose tremendously, while others will gain marginally.

(millions of dollars)	1994-1995*	1996-1997**	PERCENTAGE CHANGE
Nonresident	3,484	3,522	+1.0
Prince Edward Island	358	323	-9.2
Nova Scotia	3,932	3,849	-2.0
New Brunswick	1,610	1,632	+1.4
Quebec	11,496	11,096	-3.3
Ontario	10,830	9,863	-8.9
Manitoba	2,029	2,022	-0.3
Saskatchewan	1,411	1,450	+2.8
Alberta	2,829	2,353	-16.8
British Columbia	3,573	3,251	-9.0
Northwest Territories	74	68	-8.1
Yukon	34	22	-35.3
TOTAL	58,574	58,583	+0.0

* Expenditure: Established Programs Financing and Health Insurance Plan payments
** Canada Social Transfer and Established programs



scared during a recession, Ottawa would have little of that increasing provincial tax. If the provinces had several percentage points of sales tax revenue, however, they would have a source of funds to make up the loss of federal transfers. But Ottawa probably has no choice. There are two major programs that the federal government is tackling with the cuts: the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), which pays a portion of the provinces' social assistance costs, and the Established Programs Financing (EPF) which provides funds for health and postsecondary education. And there are problems with the current situation of both programs. For five years, Ottawa clamped a lid on the growth of the CAP payments to the three most populous provinces. As a result, it is now picking up only 28 per cent of Ontario's \$6 billion tab. Because it would cost so much to bring funding levels back to the 50-per-cent range for all provinces, Ottawa probably had to accept the formula—and start all over.

That approach to social assistance has met with a decidedly mixed response. Although no province is happy with the prospect of less money, provinces such as Alberta are pleased that Ottawa will drop most of its current conditions on social assistance funding. Such rules often limited expenditure, by withholding federal funds for programs such as those that supplement the incomes of the working poor. Instead, under the CST, Ottawa will simply insist that provinces cannot impose minimum residency requirements on welfare applicants. Axworthy argued that Ottawa is shifting its emphasis away from bureaucratic rules as it could better respond to people's needs. "I am much more interested in getting a common framework from the provinces on the child line in poverty issues than worrying about that standard over there. If we can co-operate to say, 'I've got a benefit. You have now got more flexibility. I can add some resources from my own Human Resources Investment Fund. Let's tackle child poverty together.'"

Ottawa had equally pressing reasons to change the EPF formula in the budget. Under the new program, the federal formula funds health and postsecondary education through a mixture of cash and tax points. But Ottawa's clout was dwindling because its cash contribution was shrinking. The reason is simple: Because Ottawa has cut the overall growth of EPF payments, the value of the cash portion has shrunk as the value of tax points has grown. (The value of the tax points has increased because the economy is growing.) Under the old formula, the cash portion was destined to dwindle to zero shortly after the turn of the century. The CST has solved that problem by simply spreading the formula's cash contribution to health care in a new suspended lump in a block payment. As a result, Ottawa can continue to insist that the provinces must maintain the principles of universal coverage. If it cut back on the cash from the CST for every dollar that is collected through user fees or extra levies.

So far, Ottawa has shrewdly managed the introduction to the CST. It has already stilled through the initial post-budget reaction. And it will survive the treacherous negotiations with the provinces—only because the formula are so difficult to understand. Ontario's example is perhaps illustrative. In his attempt to explain the situation to his voters, Ontario Premier Bob Rae said in 1995-1996: "The province has provided a lot of so-called expenditures a billion-dollar cutback to equal, for example, the closure of 10 provincially supported nursing homes." "No, it's a real cut," notes Wepler. "We have 38 per cent of the population and 54 per cent of the cuts. But you can't say to people, 'You don't understand. Wake up.' It's so easy for our opposition to say, 'You're wrong!'"

That cut enraged the welfare provinces because they were already transferring expenditures payments to the poorer provinces to ensure similar levels of service at similar levels of taxation. Why, they asked, should they give more? Worse, that health money will be spent during the first year of CST payments because they will be allocated in the same proportion as payments under the old formula. The new formula will take effect in 2007-2008.

It is possible to predict some of the future from that past. Stung by previous formulas, the richer provinces will want the new arrangements to provide the same payments per person as the poorer provinces receive. They will also want to limit Ottawa's right to temper with those payments, probably by demanding a guaranteed number of provincial income tax points instead of cash. If Ottawa agreed, it would lower its personal income tax rates by several percentage points, allowing the provinces to raise their rates by a corresponding amount. In contrast, the poorer provinces will likely want more money per person than the richer provinces. They will argue that their needs are greater—say, they deserve more. When Quebec's University economist

Thomas Courchesne "Ottawa is going to get ripped apart again. This negotiation is going to be a real battle because you are going to get people like [Alberta Premier] Ralph Klein saying, 'This is unfair. We will consider some redistribution if you in Nova Scotia do the type of spending cuts that we have done in Alberta.'" He adds: "If Ottawa is not careful, Canada are going to stop looking so liberally on interprovincial redistribution."

To limit that possibility, Axworthy's learned that Ottawa has devised a sweetener to dangle in front of the provinces during the upcoming discussions. It may offer to transfer a percentage point, or perhaps even several percentage points, of revenue from the seven-percentage Goods and Services Tax to supplement the CST. That added revenue may appease some provincial concerns that the CST back payment will probably result in relatively constant. As a result, even if welfare costs

It knows well at the New Valley Hospital in Calgary, welfare payments are not a social safety net.

AND NOW, BAD NEWS

The president resigns from the network in protest

A 13 p.m. on Feb. 27, only 90 minutes before the federal budget was tabled in the House of Commons, CBC president Jeffrey Mervis was handed a single sheet of paper that made him do a double take. In three neat columns, figures spilled out the bleak financial future of the Crown corporation. By 1999, the CBC was expected to chop \$279 million from its \$1.1-billion budget, including cuts of \$180 million imposed by the Tories. After months of scrambling from the Liberal cabinet, Mervis had been suspecting the worst. But he was surprised for the casual note at the bottom of the page: Radio-Canada International, an overseas broadcast service operated by Foreign Affairs, was to be absorbed by the CBC, along with its annual \$15-million price tag. The next day, at 9 a.m., Mervis resigned—citing “purely personal reasons”—in a cryptic letter to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. Only later did the president make his reasons clear. “I will not provide over the disbanding of the CBC,” Mervis told *Maclean's*.

While the cornerstone of Canada's cultural industry is under siege, it is unlikely to be dismantled—at least not yet. In last week's budget, Bill C-58 was shaved from the public network's coffers under orders that its mandate undergo yet another review. That alone has shaken the 3,000-member corporation. Since his appointment on Feb. 3, 1994, Mervis had struggled to minimize the damage of “fiscally tight” cuts. More troubling to CBC supporters, however, is the fact that the federal government has reneged on its promise to provide the network with the “stable multi-year funding” set out in the Liberals’ so-called Red Book of campaign pledges. Last February, Heritage Minister Michel Duguay wrote to Mervis, declaring that Ottawa “does not intend to impose new reductions” on the CBC for at least five years. Last week, Duguay, as well as Chrétien, denied that such a promise was ever made. “It was indeed an intent, but the world changes,” Duguay told *Maclean's*. “The choice of the word ‘intent’ was deliberate.”

Amid the fever in Ottawa over Mervis's abrupt resignation, there was some curious dancing around the facts. At first, Duguay teased

that the 1995-1996 cut was the only figure of any relevance. “All the rest is invention,” Duguay told the House of Commons. But the figures that Mervis received on budget day came from Duguay's deputy minister, Marc Boisson—with, as Duguay later told *Maclean's*, the minister's prior knowledge and consent. “I knew that we were looking at 15 per cent over three years for a number of months,” Duguay acknowledged in an interview. “I made it a point to keep in touch with Mr. Mervis so that he would not be short of information.” But Duguay also confessed that he never alerted Mervis to the transfer of responsibility for Radio-Canada International, because, he said, it would be a breach of budget secrecy. “You know that budget leaks are not welcome,” explained Duguay. “We had to be very tight.”

In the House of Commons and in interviews, Duguay and Chrétien were quick to seize upon Mervis's actual explanation that he was resigning after only 15 months of a five-year term for personal reasons. But Mervis, a 54-year-old former electronics engineer, eventually confirmed that the cuts were a major—if not the major—factor, inflicting *Maclean's*. “I was simply trying to be a good soldier and not raise a stink. Now that somebody is pushing these kind of levers I have to come right out and say, look, the ‘personal reasons’ are that what is happening to the CBC affects me very much. I believe in the institution.”

If the three-year cutback is accepted, says Mervis, a total of \$80 million will be logged off the CBC's budget, making it difficult to fulfill its legislative mandate. The projected drop in funding would have widespread ramifications. Mervis estimated that as many as 4,900 employees would have to be laid off, while the CBC might need to close more regional stations and merge the A1 and FM radio networks. Duguay assured the House of Commons that the CBC will not be jeopardized. But the new cuts have added fuel to demands, especially by the Reform party, that such options be explored. Said Reform MP Janet Brown: “The CBC cannot continue as we know it today.”

That is precisely the concern of many CBC supporters. Ian Morrison, spokesman for the Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, a 40,000-member lobby group, reserves his harshest criticism for Duguay, whom he accuses of flouting both the public broadcaster and his Liberal colleagues. Said Morrison: “He should have been a messenger between Mervis and the cabinet. His failure to do even that kind of communications role just makes him useless.” In fact, the lingering question in the cultural industry is the role of last week's budget in whether the right person resigned.

R. KAYE FULTON in Ottawa



Mervis: “I will not provide over the dismantling of the CBC. I believe in the institution.”

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\$ Vancouver's debt check is also for Ontario to take a hand in.

While the response to Martin's budget in the domestic business community was generally favorable, there's reservations were clearly shared by other foreign investors. Even though trade between the United States and Canada showed that Canada's average economic growth rate in 1994 was 4.5 per cent—which holds well for a strong performance in 1993—the Canadian dollar remained limp as its term-based exports. It drifted steadily down—down—down with the U.S. dollar—to close the week at 71.09 cents (\$1), down 0.06 cents from last Tuesday.

The savings from credit rating agencies contributed to the prevailing mood of uncertainty just two days after the budget. The influential lending agency, Standard and Poor's Corp. of New York, declared that the country's high interest rates may soon precipitate a credit downgrade, a move that would slow many of the core economic assumptions contained in the budget. According to Jean Potvin, vice-chairman of the Certified General Accountants Association of Canada, a downgrade could add as much as \$6 billion to the national deficit as well as another \$2 billion in annual interest charges and an overall decrease of \$2 billion in revenue to the government. Because, when markets, corporations would have to pay more to borrow money. Although Standard and Poor's confirmed the double-A-plus rating on Canada's foreign currency debt and its triple-A local currency long-term debt rating following the budget, the agency adjusted its outlook for Canada's foreign currency rating from stable to negative.

At the same time, the Toronto-based Dominion Bond Rating Service Ltd. also sounded a warning when it placed the province of Ontario's credit rating under review with what it described as "negative implications," which signals that a downgrade may soon follow. The agency said that it is concerned about the effect on Ontario's economy of Martin's plan to reduce

the transfer payments from Ottawa to the province by as much as \$2.5 billion by 1997. However, Moody's Investor Service of New York, which placed Canada's debt on credit watch in Feb. 26, had not commented further on the possibility of a downgrade since then.

To test the benefits of the new budget, Ottawa dispatched several key or subject investors to international financial centres to field questions and offer assurances. In Tokyo, where Japanese financial institutions own about \$40 billion in Canadian debt, International Trade Minister Roy MacLaren drew persistent questions that Japanese investors are selling their Canadian holdings. And he also downplayed reports about pending credit downgrades from Moody's and Standard and Poor's.

Nevertheless, after Canada's most recent experience with currency market swings in January—which was caused in part by the devaluation of Mexico's peso—Martin was clearly aware of the risk of being blown off-course. As a result, he took the precaution



C O V E R

BEARISH ON CANADA

BY DEIRDRE MCMURDY

When Paul Martin stood in the House of Commons to deliver his budget speech last week, Raymond Tingle was listening carefully to every word. Tingle is a 34-year-old currency trader in the Wall Street office of the multinational, Dutch-owned ING Bank N.V. Even before the new budget was formally tabled, he had sounded heavily in the market against Martin's ability to win—and sustain—confidence with his long-awaited attack on Canada's deficit. Indeed, Tingle's negative position was supported by a risk-averse budget rally in Canadian equity and currency markets. Sparks of optimism were also doused after the Canadian Bond Rating Service of Montreal revised its outlook on the domestic credit rating from negative to stable. But even though Canada was able to sell \$25 billion in bonds in an international success last Wednesday, the Canadian dollar's rise quickly stalled. Said Tingle, "I'm sticking to my bearish call on Canada because of the headline numbers. This budget was tough, but just not tough enough."

Foreign analysts maintain their skeptical stand

of creating a deliberate hedge against budget backslips. The finance minister has insisted after the budget's release that he had introduced a 1.5-cent a litre tax on gasoline specifically as part of a revenue cushion or "contingency reserve" against a weak dollar and higher interest rates. The gasoline tax is expected to generate about \$200 million a year.

While a massive debt rollover and money markets powdered the latest developments in Canada, the call for a harder line from Ottawa was also sounded at home by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. According to chamber president Tim Flood, the national debt and deficit, which remain the greatest deterrents to domestic business confidence and expansion, should have been targeted for elimination by 1987-1988. And despite the fact that spending cuts and smaller tax incentives in the budget, Reid noted that for the business sector, the budget brought in almost \$1 billion in new taxes.

Specifically, the budget introduces a 12.5-per-cent increase in the tax on the capital base of large corporations and boosts the corporate surtax from three per cent to four per cent. That is expected to generate annual resources of about \$360 million. A temporary tax on banks will raise \$190 million over the next two years.

Nevertheless, the industry's stated objective of diminishing the role of government in Canada's economic and social life was warmly applauded by all business interviewees. Indeed, it was noted that Canadian companies have been lobbying for years to reduce the level of Ottawa's business subsidies. These are now slated to decline by 60 per cent over the next three years—from \$1.5 billion annually to \$1.5 billion by 1997-98. Above all, business leaders welcomed the federal government's plan for the devolution of some powers to the provinces. This move should eventually eliminate some of the by-products of duplication and bureaucracy between the two levels of government.

That she plans to reduce the government's presence in the private sector also led to the plan outlined in the budget to sell off Canadian National railway, commercial air transport, Canada's air mail service, the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. and the Canadian National Railway, a federally owned printing and communications service. In addition to those initiatives, the budget announced that Ottawa's remaining 76-per-cent stake in the former Crown corporation, Petro-Canada, will be sold to the public market. At current share prices, this would generate almost \$2 billion, \$800 million more than the government's share of the proceeds from the privatization of the telecommunications industry. The budget also announced that the government will be selling its 100-per-cent stake in the Canadian National Railway.

Reality, Ottawa style

There are times when life in Ottawa is so disconnected from reality in the rest of Canada that it

[illegible]

Budgets, like any other art in politics, produce clear-cut winners and losers. A good budget is a bit like the old saw about good house-paints and fish: after three days, none should linger any longer in the home. By that measure, the Liberals came out winners. By week's end, most Canadians, seeing the dollar's value and their own tax levels relatively unchanged, had granted approval and moved on to other things.

The politicians, too, elephants, have both thick skins and long memories, and the political leeches in the buffer's already swollen back are sure to carry long grudges into the next budget cycle. But the elephants and leeches are easily identifiable, although for quite different reasons. Start with Reform Leader Prestige Manning, whose party faced its biggest opportunity for a break-through with the public's vote in the 1992 election. Manning's Conservative orbit, at the end of the day, is not too far from the center. Manning's party deserves more credit than it has received for keeping public debate on the track. But Manning snuffed his response through an articles initiative that was so broad and so shallow that it did nothing for either his cause or his party's credibility. On the day his budget came out, he accused the Liberals of "conspirator" for not having cut more. His sock's end, he was suggesting that the Liberals were not serious about the Liberal-styled Reform policies. So he

Federal pundits cannot believe Martin found the will to cut the nation's deficit

BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

logic, perhaps this should be the party's next election slogan: Be a coward — vote Reform.

On the other hand, a good circuit sign-on in *Warfare* means writer Michel Dupuy—another whose standing is mostly diminished—might be “Dupuy a man who knows his stuff, if not his promises.” First, the budget proved him unable to keep a specific, unambiguous promise that he made to *Cine* President Anthony Minors to leave the cop’s cop’s hounding intact. Then, Dupuy used an effect that he had done nothing wrong, even though the *Cine*’s budget is being drastically cut, because the “intent” of a promise when it is first made matters more than the ability to keep it. Perhaps

by that logic, it would be acceptable for Canadians to withhold their income taxes this year—as long as they can say they originally intended to pay up. Miners did the honorable thing by scrupulously honoring a promise to him had not been kept. It is a troubling statement that the man who did not keep the promise did not feel the same guilt. And it does so credit, either to Prime Minister Jean

Christian or his aides, who, along with Dupuy, spread several different, confusing stories relating to Mazon's decision to resign.

One of the other, less obvious lessons of the Bloc Québécois killed in its attempt to portray the budget as yet another imposition for Quebec and an argument for secession, its members failed even to mention the fact that the Bloc's own leader, Jacques Parizeau, had urged them to remember—to act as Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition to the bulk of Confederation in all respects. As Ontario Premier Bob Rae emerged doubled over another reason, perhaps because he had been told that the Bloc's own Ontario wing had the hunch of the fact that funding its social programs for the provinces, that is, the Manning, used excessive rhetoric, against the budget's "inclusion of ethnic and compassion," it was not surprising that the Bloc's own remaining leaders that in an election year in Ontario, its politics, both men should remember, is more important to them to appear to be right than to be right. The Liberal's of a credible opposition, the Laborists, as looking at thought they see both.



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THE FOURTH TREND — THE SYSTEM ISN'T BEING USED PROPERLY.

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- As much as 30 to 40 percent of all healthcare services, including hospital services and drugs, have been estimated as being used inappropriately. Doctors themselves acknowledge that this is a major problem.²
- Three-quarters of deaths are due to conditions that can be prevented at a low cost, while three-quarters of the medical budget is spent on curative services, many of them at high cost.³
- Poor communication. An important part of a good diagnosis is the patient giving the doctor the right information.

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President, Astra Pharma Inc.

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An elderly woman goes free after taking the life of her ailing husband

BY SCOTT STEELE

Friends and neighbors recall them as one of the happiest couples they had ever met. Even after nearly six decades of marriage, Jean and Cecil Brash still held hands, wore the love-struck tongs as a husband and wife in their twilight years. Together they spent long summer evenings in the well-manicured garden behind their modest redbrick bungalow in Stacey Creek, Ont., just east of Hamilton. And every weekday they drove to one of their favorite restaurants for a leisurely lunch. They had worked hard to get where they were, and their retirement years seemed to be unfolding as the best of their lives.

Then, the hallucinations began. Jean Brash says she will never forget the day in early 1994 when her husband, then 80, got out the vacuum cleaner and began trying to suck up imaginary insects by one crawling across the living room floor. In the months that followed, Cecil Brash's behavior became more erratic. Outside, he saw threatening animals marching down the street. To him, neighbors' cars violently shook back and forth, elevated wires lay strewn across the house; water gushed from holes in the bedroom ceiling, drenching his bed. When his wife tried to reassure him that he was only seeing things, Cecil Brash accused her of being part of a conspiracy. "He got angry with me because he thought I was responsible and that I had a contract



home. Cecil refused to eat. "He put his head down on the table and he said to me, 'I'm not going back there,'" Jean Brash told Alachua's "And I had my arms around him and I said, 'No, darling, you're not going back there.' And then he said, 'I don't do anything, I don't do anything.' And I said, 'If I do anything to you, then I have to do it to myself, too.' And he said, 'I want you and me to be together.'"

Jean Brash led Cecil into the dining room and laid him on some blankets she had draped across the floor. She then got a five-inch long heating knife from the basement, held it to his hands and guided the blade to his chest. But he was too weak to rise the knife. Her hand was the weapon slung with him. Jean Brash stabbed him twice below the sternum, severing the main artery to his spleen and pancreas. Then, she turned the blade on herself, plunging it the same into her abdomen.

About five hours later, her daughter, who had moved into the house to provide support, returned home from work to find them lying side by side. Her father was already dead; her mother, barely alive, was holding Cecilia's hand. Myra presented both her parents were dead as if she heard her mother stir—and rushed over to hug her. The elderly woman whispered that she was sorry she was "unable to finish it."

Jean Brash never intended to survive. Her probate intended from her bequests flows to her son, but she was not at Hamilton General Hospital when he left, leaving her alone in a room without Cecil—and leaving a charge of first-degree murder. Three weeks later, Brash was discharged from hospital.

Jean Brash, and her suicide note: trapped by a terrible disease. After a brief court appearance, the state day, she was released on \$50,000 bail, to cooperate at home, promised that she follow her doctor's orders and have someone with her at all times. On the advice of physicians, who felt that the 60-year-old woman might not be able to stand in the strain of a regular trial, Jean Brash assigned her lawyer, Frank Grosse, to plead guilty to manslaughter.

There is a deep sadness in Jean Brash's eyes as she sits at her dining-room table, only feet from the spot where she took her husband's life. The first sign of trouble, she says, came in June 1993, when he began to ask her to drive the car on their leisure outings. "He didn't tell me what was wrong," she says. "Just thought he wanted a break." But on his 81st birthday, as promised that July, she agreed him to stand in his driver's license renewal—something he had been putting off. "He said, 'No, they won't pass me.' I see remembers." "I asked, 'Cec, what do you mean?' And he answered, 'I can't drive any more.' It was the first day he knew of his visual impairment.

Soon, in addition to his glasses, Cecil Brash was using a magnifying glass and a flashlight to read. One day in January, 1994, he got up from the breakfast table and started pacing back and forth. "I looked at him and said, 'What's the matter?'" Jean Brash recalls. "And he answered, 'I've got to see the doctor. I've got to see the doctor.'" But when she told him to call and make an appointment, he replied helplessly "I'm here to dial the telephone. I can't see, Jean."

Cecil was destined legally blind. It was about that time the hallucinations began—and his behavior changed drastically. One day, Jean was working at the kitchen sink and turned around to see him hanging at her with his arms outstretched as if he wanted to strangle her. "I turned and I looked him and he stopped, looked at me in front of me," she recalls. "And I looked at him and he looked at me, and his hands were still up, so I took one step towards him and said, 'Go ahead. Go ahead, Cec.' He said, 'No,' and turned around and walked away." Fighting back tears, her lips trembling, she courageously walked to the door. "I thought he had killed me. I loved him and he loved me. But this was out there."

She first ordered Cecil Brash when she was 15, as the male gang ran on his bicycle while she walked to a nearby bus stop. Jean had never had a

MERCY KILLING

with sympathy," Jean Brash says now, her eyes filling with tears. "This was Cecil. This was not the way he was. He was a wonderful man."

In a suicide pact gone horribly awry, Jean Brash helped her husband of 56 years to end his life last August, but failed in her bid to join him in death. And last week, looking frail and resigned, she appeared in a Hamilton courtroom to be sentenced for manslaughter. Devised in blue slacks, a yellow blouse and a fawn-jacket, the grey-haired grandmotherly intendant, as Judge Gerald Zibel called her action "a desperate attempt to end her husband's life with some dignity." But while the judge acknowledged that she had acted out of mercy, he pointed out that the enormous moral issue of euthanasia cannot be settled by the courts. Instead, he said, "it must be left to Parliament's hands."

Still, to the relief of Jean Brash, who said Alachua two days before she was sentenced that she could not believe that her "folly act" would go unsanctioned, the judge gave her a suspended sentence with 18 months probation, meaning that she will not serve any time as long as Cecil's death. "She has already suffered a horrible sentence than could ever be imposed on her life, the loss of her loving husband," Zibel said. And after the judgment, Jean Brash bowed her head and quietly said "Thank you, your honor."

Cecil Brash suffered from Alzheimer's disease, a degenerative and increasingly fatal neurological disorder that transforms its victims into shadows of their former selves. By the time of his death, his hearing and vision had almost completely failed, leaving him in a state of near-total sensory deprivation. He was incontinent and, like many Alzheimer's patients, was apt to wander off. At times, he did not even recognize his wife. But in moments of lucidity, Cecil Brash could recognize that something was profoundly wrong. He also knew, his wife says, that he had lost the will to live.

So Jean Brash—exhausted, overwhelmed and isolated, she says, by mercy and love—decided to help her 81-year-old husband fulfill his wish to end his life. The first attempt came last July, after he told her that he wanted "to go to sleep and not wake up." Frightened, Jean Brash asked him to wait down what he had said on a piece of paper—and to sign it. Because Cecil could barely see, she had to help him guide the pen. She then poured several drops pills into a glass and offered them to her husband. He took eight pills, said, "I don't want any more," and pushed the plate away. After that, she washed down 26 pills herself with some whisky. "I was very calm," she remembers. "I was resigned to it. I took him by the hand and I said, 'Cec, go to bed.' I got him to his bed, on

top of the spread, and I lay down beside him and held his hand."

She has no memory of what happened next. But at 2 a.m., she phoned her only child, Wynne-Jane Myers, who lived nearby, saying: "Jean, I need you." Myers called to her parents' home to find her mother unconscious on the dining-room floor. Her father, who had not taken enough pills to cause serious harm, was fine. When Jean later woke up in hospital, her first thought was of Cecil. "When I regained consciousness, I asked my husband was all right and the staff said, 'Yes,'" she remembers. "And I thought, 'Thank goodness I didn't go and leave Cecil alone.'"

Cecil's condition, however, continued to decline, and Jean says she sought desperately to give him long-term nursing home care. None could be found immediately. He was fitted on a waiting list for a permanent placement when on Aug. 3 he was admitted to the Clanton Home in Stacey Creek to give his wife a much needed temporary respite. At the home, Cecil grew frustrated, refused meals and began to wander the hallways, often acting aggressively towards the staff.

On the morning of Aug. 28, Jean Brash came to the Clanton Home's visit. Concerned about Cecil's refusal to eat and his inability even to find a bathroom that was only feet from his bed, she signed him out to take him home for lunch. He was to return by 2 p.m. But once she got him

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Cec's & my situation is getting worse
day by day & will not get better.
Be being blind & w. Alzheimer's
disease is like being in a night
marish hell. He has lived
our lifetime & it must end
before we both become regrettable.
Medical profession & Gov...ment

American courtroom since the late 1970s when the state of Florida, with the backing of the American Bar Association, presented the practice. Although their media very widely, 47 states now permit televised trials, the exceptions being Indiana, Mississippi and South Dakota. And since July, 1991, the New York City-based Courtroom Television Network has been broadcasting live and taped coverage of trials across America 24 hours a day. The network, which reaches 17 million homes, has covered all or parts of almost 200 trials, including William Kennedy Smith's sexual assault trial and the Rodney King police brutality case in Los Angeles. "We did a survey last year of the judges in every courtroom where Court TV covered a trial, and 90 per cent said they didn't mind if Lynn Rosenstien's 'Whore' name ever got said; it did not affect the process at all."

Numerous Canadian royal commissions and judicial inquiries have been televised since the late 1970s, but the courts have essentially resisted televised proceedings. The Supreme Court recently made two exceptions: one for a March, 1993, appeal involving child-care expenses, then a month later for the case of Sue Rodriguez, the Victoria woman who said she was appealing for the right to a physician-assisted suicide. In both cases Chief Justice Antonio Laferrière permitted the cameras on an experimental basis but stipulated that his decision should not set a precedent for later courts in cases with witnesses present. So far, there has been no major move towards opening trial courts to cameras. And as recently as September, 1994, the Canadian Judicial Council, a professional body representing the country's judges, reaffirmed its opposition to televised trials for the third time in a decade.

The council's stand is just one of several obstacles that CTV lawyers face as they argue for "re" access to the Bernard trial. Three anti-violence organizations have opposed the network's plans, and spokeswoman Rose Dwyer, a member of Canadians Concerned About Violence in Entertainment, said lawbreakers that "they will approach Justice Minister Allan Rock with their concerns. But the CJC intends to press ahead with its case. "Our basic position is that if it is public information, we should be able to transmit it to the public," says the CJC's Henry. But that will undoubtedly be a tough sell where it counts most—in the courtroom.

BARCY JENKINS is in St. Catharines with SHARON DOYLE. DAVID GEE is Toronto.

A TENACIOUS DEFENDER

It has been a long waiting for Justice Patrick LeBlanc, who is presiding over the trial of Paul Bernardo, the 30-year-old former accountant accused of murdering schoolgirl Leslie Mahaffy, 14, and Kristin French, 15. For nearly three hours, lawyers for the Crown and the families of the victims have argued often in very emotional terms, that the public should not be allowed to see videotaped evidence that the prosecution will introduce later. LeBlanc occasionally pleads for brevity and appears relieved when the arguments end. Then, Bernardo's lawyer, John Ross, takes over and everyone, including the judge, seems to sit up and listen. Ross has a commanding presence. He is well-proportioned, angular, and has an intensity borne of his love of criminal trials. "The whole dynam-

ism of defence attorneys who have worked with Rosen on several cases. "He will not shirk his duty."

While Ross can be a captivating courtroom performer, his chief adversary in this case, Crown attorney Ray Houlahan, is precisely the opposite. He relies on a low-key, methodical style that is devoid of flamboyant gestures. But those who know him say no one should be fooled by appearances. Houlahan, a native of Windsor, Ont., who is in his late 50s (he refuses to divulge his age), has been a prosecutor since graduating from the University of Toronto law school in 1969. Lawyers who have argued cases against Houlahan say he comes to court extremely well-prepared and will relentlessly pursue a conviction. "He can be uncompromising in his efforts," says Windsor defence lawyer Patrick Ducharme. "He's also for and honest. He's a very formidable opponent."

The Bernardo trial will bring both Ross and Houlahan unprecedented public exposure. Over the past 15 years, Ross has defended more than 100 people charged with murder. Several lawyers who know him say he has the rare ability to handle one murder case after another. "Murder trials are the most grueling there is," says Toronto defence lawyer Graham Ruby. "They require a huge amount of preparation time and tend to be well fought. I've done dozens but I do them with apathy in between. Ross finishes one and goes on to the next. Very few lawyers can maintain that pace."

Ross insists that he came to associate his murder cases more by chance than design. After graduating from Osgoode Hall Law School in 1966, he practised criminal and civil law, but quickly found of the latter because it often involves negotiating out-of-court settlements over property and money disputes. Ross felt pulled towards criminal law because the stakes involved—the loss of freedom and reputation—are so much higher than in civil cases. And rather than act as a mediator, he could defend individuals against the powers of the state. He has focused on murder trials because they are generally the most challenging. "Juries are better trained in the courts," he says. "The better police officers see justice involved in the investigations and the issues are more interesting."

Apart from the law and his family, Ross has few other interests. He lives in a north Toronto neighborhood similar to the one in which he grew up. He likes movies, sits occasionally with friends and jogs sporadically. And friends and associates say he is very devoted to his wife and their three children, aged 24, 21 and 15. "He doesn't live lavishly," says accountant Lionel Neuman, a lifelong friend who remains close. "He's not money-driven but he has an absolutely tremendous amount of energy and he just doesn't slow down." With perhaps the most demanding trial of his career about to begin, those could prove important attributes.

B.J.



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Haisley (left) talking change

CANADA

Redecorating history

A battle grows over renovating Rideau Hall

An age to decorate seems to be catching on among Ottawa's leading circles. On her way out of Rideau Hall in early February, Gerda Haisley, wife of former governor general Jacques Haisley, published *Rideau Hall, Canada's Living History*, an 886 volume on Canada's grandest official residence. Profiles from the glossy book will go towards the fundraising and renovation of the 175-room property. But as Milla Mulaney discovered, redecorating official residences can be a painful undertaking. A month after the Haisleys left Rideau Hall, the restoration is drawing criticism from experts who wanted to work on it.

When the Haisleys moved into the 150-year-old residence in January 1986, they started a major restoration project under the direction of designers and curators from the National Capital Commission (NCC). The group was working closely with The Canadian Fund, a committee of expert volunteers that collected antiques and art for all seven official residences. In 1991, shortly after completing a \$300,000 redecoration of the governor general's private five-bedroom apartment, Gerda Haisley took charge of the overall restoration project herself. And, although the hall's main room was Rideau Hall and Haisley became its pitocoo, she also sat on her own committee, called The Friends of Rideau Hall, to acquire furnishings and raise money for the official residence. Her mother and both her sons are now senior staff members.

Reopened from the project were the NCC's own designers and curators, including Richard Raymond, for seven years the chief curatorial and interior design services for the official residences, as well as Paul Robertson, the NCC's assistant chief curator. Raymond oversaw the 1977-1981 restoration of the historic East Block rooms of the House of Commons, and is con-

sidered one of the country's first restoration designers. "We were not allowed in the residence after the fall of 1991," says Raymond. According to both Robertson and Rideau Hall spokeswoman Phil Klossner, Haisley also identified the curators because of a difference of opinion over the direction and pace of the restoration. Instead, who hired Paulette Babin, a junior curatorial consultant from the NCC, as her in-house decorator and co-ordinator of the look.

After moving a word into the book in *The Ottawa Citizen*, both Raymond and Robertson, who were among 35 NCC employees laid off in a 2005 economy drive, wrote rebuttal letters to the paper, saying that the work was extravagant and not in keeping with the historic nature of the house. But, Raymond wrote, restoration of the main reception room, the King Gallery, "a project that should have been completed weeks ago, took years of dealing on an agenda to bring together. The final outcome was, unfortunately, a shadow of the project's original intention." Robertson was equally blunt. "What Mrs. Haisley created at Rideau Hall is very pretty," he wrote, "but it is deficient in historical integrity." In brief, says his legislation is needed to ensure that occupants of official residences cannot redecorate state rooms at their leisure.

Haisley declined to comment personally on the criticism. But Klossner said that "she says she did nothing wrong." In addition, he said, Haisley paid more than \$1 million to purchase antiques, antiques and other goods for Rideau Hall. In fact, the theory issue of official decorating may be founded only and for all by last week's *Maclean's* feature, which will call NCC staff in full, from 900 to 450 employees. Laid off, most than anything else, was finally put a stop to redecorating at the top.

STEVE CAMERON

An abuse of trust

New Brunswick acts on the Kingsclear scandal

Given the New Brunswick government this much it may have been surprisingly slow to respond to the disclosure of widespread sexual abuse at Fredericton's Kingsclear Youth Training Centre, which first came to light in the 1990s. But it was quick to accept recommendations by the judge who headed up a two-year public inquiry into the tragedy. Last week, four senior corrections officials were fired and another retired on the order of Justice Richard Miller's scathing report. And the government said it will begin negotiations for compensation with the more than 40 former residents who claim to have been molested at Kingsclear.

In truth, Premier Frank McKenna's government had no choice but to act. Although he had no mandate to determine criminal responsibility, Miller concluded that corrections officials, police officers and the government ombudsman repeatedly failed the young boys preyed upon by pedophile Karl Toff, a courtier at the male-only maximum-security prison. The province, he wrote, "seems to have failed at its responsibility for the suffering."

"It is unacceptable," Miller added, "that for 30 years... not a single person in the justice department aware of allegations and accusations of sexual abuse ever assigned a serious investigation."

They had plenty of warning. The \$1.7-million inquiry held that the first hint of sexual abuse at Kingsclear surfaced in the early 1990s, that the real horror began when Toff, who had already been imprisoned as a sex offender over homosexual activities, arrived. For 20 years the leading police coacher held, raped and molested the boys entrusted to his care. Only the dogged determination of David Forbes, a former councillor at Kingsclear, led to Toff's arrest in 2001. A year later, Toff was sentenced to 21 years in jail after being convicted on 36 related charges.

The public inquiry ensured that the province—as well as both Kingston—would not forget what went on Toff's victims' walls. Ultimately, Miller declared to stand up of the Minister to the politicians who oversee the police and corrections department while Toff was spending unhindered. Yet whatever its deficiencies, Miller's sharp report documents a shameful page in New Brunswick history.

JONAS DEBONT in Fredericton

REFUGEE REFORMS

Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi announced changes aimed at saving money and rehabilitating the image of the Immigration and Refugee Board. Marchi said that refugee claims will now be heard by one board member, rather than two. That means 65 people can be cut from the board, saving \$6.5 million a year. A five-member committee will interview board appointments, which critics have said were often made for patronage reasons.

A NEW FISH WAR

Federal Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin accused European Union officials of "campaign of deception, hypocrisy and outright lies" after the EU announced plans to catch nearly 50 tons of much harried Atlantic Canada's 200-nautical-mile limit as allowed under quotas set by the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization. Tobin said he plans to start other fishing nations to persuade those of the need to consume what he calls the last viable fish stock off Atlantic Canada.

PRISON EXPLOSION

A Statistics Canada report indicated that more people are ending up in prison than ever before. The report says that the number of Canadians sentenced to jail, pre- or post-conviction, increased by 10 per cent in 2004 over the past five years.

MEMBERSHIP TUMBLING

Membership in the Reform party appears to be falling while the party itself may be in the red. Party president Herry Mayes said Reform is losing a \$300,000 deficit, and its membership has fallen to about 68,000 from 137,500 over the past 10 months. Reform Leader Preston Manning later disputed the deficit figure, saying the party will actually run a \$80,000 surplus this year, adding Manning. "The party has lost a lot of momentum since the last election, but our membership is growing. Our core, and our constituency accounts are very good." But he did not deny that membership is declining.

A DRUNK DEFENCE

In a 5-to-4 majority, the Supreme Court of Canada ordered the acquittal of an Ontario inmate who said she snatched a drink after the police stopped her, but before they took a breath sample. In so doing, the court struck down the assumption that a breath test accurately reflects the amount of alcohol in a person's blood while that person was driving. The majority based its ruling on what it called the "alibi working" of the law. The other judges, however, suggested that the decision will "strike most people as ridiculous."

Canada NOTES



A LAST HURRAH: Canadian Airborne Regiment soldiers march as a unit for the last time at the Canadian Forces Base in Petawawa, Ont. Ottawa ordered the regiment disbanded in January after a series of scandals, including the involvement of Airborne soldiers in the murder and torture of a Somali teenager in 1993 and the release of videos showing soldiers making racist comments and eating vomit and feces during a housing riot.

Scrambling for sovereignty

With popular support for Quebec sovereignty stagnant, key separatist leaders argued a significant shift in strategy. First, Bloc Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard told reporters that the question posed in the upcoming referendum on Quebec independence should remain a referendum on sovereignty, not sovereignty. Bouchard later said that he intended to keep silent from now on. "To become an embarrassment to my allies," he said. He did not, however, apologize for retracting his remarks.

influential committees and also demanded adviser Ron Mac, Gilbert Fillion, who had defended Poirer's comments. Landry, meanwhile, also disavowed himself from Poirer's comments, a victim separatist and former Parti Québécois adviser, who said that Quebec nationalists would be finishing recent if they voted negatively against sovereignty. Bouchard later said that he intended to keep silent from now on. "To become an embarrassment to my allies," he said. He did not, however, apologize for retracting his remarks.

New supernova

A new supernova, a star that exploded 35 million years ago in a distant galaxy, was discovered by two amateur astronomers using the Burke-Gallagher Observatory at St. Mary's University in Halifax. Because the star is so distant, the bright light from the blast has reached Earth only recently. It was the first time that such a discovery has been made in Canada.

MCC/STAFF/ARCHIVE 13, 1995

The arrest of the former president's brother rocks Mexico's once-untouchable political establishment

SCANDAL IN HIGH PLACES

Carlos Salinas de Gortari appeared to be a man on the move. After ousting his younger brother as Mexico's president last November and handing over power to a handpicked successor, he set his sights on the leadership of the General Secretariat of the United Nations (1993) and invited the globe to stream up support for his candidacy. But events back home soon caught up with him. Within days of a chaotic peso devaluation by incoming President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, letters blamed Salinas for the crisis, claiming he had delayed the inevitable, and even asked the situation to worsen, just to keep his WTO ambitions alive. Despite continued official support from Canada, the United States and Latin America, Salinas' name soon foundered a virtual also-ran, and was widely perceived as damaged goods.

Then came the shocking reports last week that Salinas's older brother, Raúl, had been arrested and charged with masterminding the assassination of the ruling party's second-in-command, José Francisco Ruiz Massieu, last September. The special prosecutor investigating the case even suggested that the former president might have been involved—although the attorney general's office later retricted that statement. Under mounting pressure, Carlos Salinas abruptly withdrew his WTO candidacy. And in a bizarre twist, he announced that he would go on a hunger strike to demand that the authorities clear him of any wrongdoing in connection with another assassination—the March 2, 1994, shooting of presidential hopeful Luis Donaldo Coloso, Salinas' first choice as successor, as a Tijuana campaign ally. After briefly schooling his protest, a clearly distraught Salinas resumed the hunger strike on Saturday—prompting Zedillo to issue a "personal message of worry and humanitarian encouragement."

Privately, however, an adviser to Zedillo declared the ex-president a spent force in terms of his brother's scandal. "Salinas' reputation was already tarnished because of the economic crisis," the adviser said. "But this kind of scandal just about finishes him off internationally."

By allowing the arrest of someone so close to Carlos Salinas, Zedillo

broke a cardinal rule of Mexican politics: presidents never attack their predecessors. The assertion underpinned the smooth transitions of previous administrations: no one currently without fear of being brought to justice. The arrest raised hopes that the dark ages of Mexican politics may finally be ending. "The whole political system is on trial," said Mexico City political analyst Luciano Meyer.

The political struggle at the heart of the scandal reads better than any Hollywood script. According to the attorney general's office, Raúl Salinas paid \$500,000 to a ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) leader to arrange that Massieu's successor, Raúl Massieu, was a former brother-in-law of the Salinases, but the victim and Raúl Salinas are rumored to have been at odds for years. And neither did not offer a motive for the crime, but some observers speculated that Raúl Salinas was afraid his allegedly shady business practices could be revealed. Ruiz Massieu was given a spot in Zedillo's cabinet.

Adding to the intrigue were rumors that none other than the victim's brother—Mario Ruiz Massieu, a special prosecutor who was appointed to investigate the murder—had helped to cover up Raúl Salinas's supposed role in the killing. Late last week, a Mexican government spokesman said that Mario Ruiz Massieu had been arrested by U.S. customs officers at a New York City airport for carrying an undeclared quantity of cash that exceeded the \$10,000 (U.S.) limit.

Only days before Raúl Salinas was put behind bars, Attorney General Antonio Linares Cienfuegos had announced two breakthroughs in the Coloso case. Police had arrested a second alleged gunman and, Linares said, had found new evidence that someone had tampered with the crime scene. That suggested that a conspiracy to kill Coloso was covered up by officials in charge of the original investigation during Salinas's administration.

Authorities in the Salinas administration claimed that Coloso's con-

fessed killer, Mario Alberto Martínez, was the lone gunman. Alberto was sentenced to 40 years in prison, while three other men with links to the PRI are on trial for allegedly helping the assassin get close to Coloso. Authorities now say the alleged second gunman, PRI member Carlos Vázquez, belonged to a private security team hired to protect the candidate. His arrest reinforced the widespread perception that the killing was ordered by party bosses who were afraid of the candidate's reform tendencies. "It's evident that this is a conspiracy by people in the PRI," said political analyst Arturo Sánchez in Mexico City.

Before last week, it was inconceivable for Mexicans to imagine that anyone with Raúl Salinas's connections could be arrested. Despite widespread rumors of his shady, if not illegal, business practices, his brother had appeared to do little to curb him. Raúl Salinas has been linked by traffickers and journalists to drug cartels. Foreign businessmen accused him of using his influence—and changing for \$1—to help them secure contracts with the state-owned monopoly Petróleos Mexicanos known as Pemex.

■ Raúl Salinas (right): accused of masterminding the assassination last fall of the ruling party's second-in-command



■ Ruiz Massieu: Carlos Salinas (right): conspiracy theories

By tackling an "untouchable," Zedillo managed to strip some of the credibility he lost with his handling of the economic crisis and the ongoing Zapatista rebellion in the southern state of Chiapas. His move also increased public faith in the notoriously corrupt and inefficient justice system. "It is a legal puritan and deeply ignorant of the Mexican political system," wrote Mexico City columnist Reynaldo Rivera Páez. "In other words, he is the perfect combination to push through changes."

Zedillo's first step in that direction was appointing Linares, a widely respected member of the conservative opposition National Action Party (PAN), as attorney general. Linares's status as an outsider gives him a high degree of autonomy to investigate the Coloso and Ruiz Massieu cases. "Nobody is above the law," Zedillo said last week. "Injustice cannot be part of Mexico's future."

Salinas's arrest proved popular among ordinary Mexicans who are fed up with what they see as a two-faced justice system. Many were excited to see the PRI's dirty laundry being aired in public for the first time. "I think Zedillo had a lot of guts to do this," said

Acemio González de la Fuente, 33. "This has never been done before in Mexico."

The arrest appeared to have encouraged the newly sworn-in PAN governor of Jalisco state, Alberto Corralles Jaimes, to announce that he was reopening the investigation into the 1990 killing of Guadalajara Cardinal José Juan Posadas Ocampo, who was gunned down at the city's airport. Authorities had concluded the cardinal was murdered during a shootout between rival drug gangs, but many Mexicans suspect other motives.

Zedillo's crusade, however, had little effect on Mexico's stock market, which continued its wild swings last week despite a \$28-billion aid package announced last month by Washington. Investors are generally happy, but they are much more concerned about short-term economic fundamentals, said an analyst at a Mexico City brokerage house, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "This isn't going to help the market."

Economists agreed that investment will eventually increase if Zedillo can reform Mexican politics, but it remains unclear whether he can pull off such a coup. Despite the headline Carlos Salinas has taken, the former president could still emerge as a formidable figure in Mexico. Ahead of politics, he could join with conservative PRI members and hit back hard at Zedillo. Salinas took his first shot last night when his brother was arrested, publicly blaming his successor for the peso devaluation. "I think this conflict is serious because Salinas is a skilled politician who will likely fight back from a position of strength," said Carlos Labay, a researcher at Bear Stearns & Co. Inc. in New York.

And the stakes could be high. Rumors are already circulating in Mexico City that Zedillo's life might be in danger if he continues his crusade. And PAN Secretary General Felipe Calderón Hinojosa told *Moravia* that he is concerned about Salinas's safety. But some analysts downplay the danger, arguing that most PRI members are pragmatists who can see which way the wind is blowing. Zedillo's mandate challenges him to build a solid coalition of opposition members and reformers within the PRI who will support his efforts to take on the hardliners. It is clear his cannot turn back now. He must continue to arrest, or at least publicly discredit, some of the PRI's shadowy figures to establish the rule of law in Mexico. And only then can he realize his vision of reform.

SCOTT McKEE/INPHO in Mexico City



A stain on the Teflon Queen

It was a sweltering December day in 1996 when Winnie Mandela emerged from Cape Town's Supreme Court where her third husband, Mandela, was being tried for the brutal murder of her husband. Without warning, a crowd of several hundred township residents, enraged at her public support for the so-called convicted killer, surged towards Mandela, hurling eggs, sand and abuse at her. Later, when she dashed from a temporary hiding place in a seamy restaurant to catch a taxi, the crowd attacked again, this time banging metal rods and bricks upon the head of the woman who was still revered as the Mother of the Nation. It was the first public hint that not all black South Africans felt love and affection for Mandela, a woman widely seen as the stepmother for her husband, Africa's Nelson Mandela, during his 29-year imprisonment for opposing apartheid. But in its way, this incident—which she herself wrote off as the work of government agitators—was emblematic of the troubles to come. As with numerous other incidents, allegations and counter-accusations that were to unfold around her, there was no hint of justice—only a demonstration of her evident belief in attack as the best form of defence.

Now, it all seems to have caught up with her. And by all accounts, Winnie Mandela's political life is hanging by the weakest of threads. Estranged since 1992 from her husband, who became South Africa's first black president last May, Mandela was out of the country last week when the roof caved in on her. In West Africa on a trip undertaken in the defence of her husband, the 60-year-old Mandela learned last month that 30 policemen had raided her luxury home in Soweto township, southwest of Johannesburg, armed with a search warrant and a set of lists to gain entrance. The raid, led by the late anti-apartheid hero, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was part of an investigation of alleged kickbacks and influence-peddling under the cover of her pet charity, the Co-operative Anti-Poverty Program (CAPP). Mandela and three others are



Mandela and elder daughter Zwenzi, left, today back

Nelson Mandela's wife faces new allegations of bribery and influence-peddling

accused of enriching themselves through a scam involving millions of dollars in contracts for the Professional Builders Company—a construction firm in which Mandela is said to have had hidden proxy control through her younger daughter, Zindzi, and her private physician—the so-called lowest-cost housing projects. *Illustration by* [unclear] says that Mandela received about \$25,000 for landing the contracts and was to receive about \$22,500 more each month.

Mandela flew back to South Africa last week in a fighting mood. Her lawyers willingly agreed the police investigation by challenging the validity of the search warrants, forcing police to set the seized documents aside until that matter is settled. And Mandela denied the accusations against her, blaming

"the broader distasteful objectives of those bent to demonize me." For the time being, Nelson Mandela and the ANC were giving her the benefit of the doubt, and she remained in her post as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology. Acknowledging that he had known about the police investigation of his controversial wife, the president said that any decision on her future would wait until the charges were dealt with. He knew nothing about the police raid, he said, but added that he would not have intervened had he known.

In view of the seriousness of the allegations, searches and subsequent seizures of large quantities of documents from her home and CAPP offices—not to mention the unresolved problem of her alleged disloyalty in soliciting her West African wife—there were few bets on Winnie Mandela retaining her cabinet position. Just a week before her departure, the president had issued a tough warning that any further breaches of discipline in his cabinet would be dealt with harshly—a reference to his wife's public criticisms of his government at the funeral of a black policeman killed by white rioters. *Said one Western diplomat*, "It seems inconceivable that she can survive this latest debacle, but we are talking about the Teflon Queen of Africa, so who knows?"

Indeed, Winnie Mandela has looked braver than disaster more than once, apparently stronger than ever, defiant and insistent on her innocence. In 1991, she was found guilty of involvement in the abduction and assault of four young men, including 14-year-old Stompie Sepele whose father and brother body were subsequently found in a Soweto field. Outside the courthouse amid a sea of cheering supporters, she flung her fist into the air, proclaiming in the face of the evidence and the judge's verdict that she had been the victim of a dark plot by apartheid forces to discredit her. A South African court dismissed her appeal against a two-year term for kidnapping and assault in 1993, but substituted a \$5,000 fine or one year in prison, and a two-year term conditionally suspended for five years.) When leaders of

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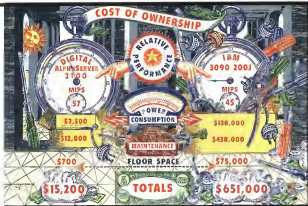
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WORLD



Police raising Mandela's house; alleged kickbacks from millions of dollars' worth of contracts to build low-cost housing

South Africa's anti-apartheid forces called on blacks to distance themselves from her over her role in the "Stompie affair," she dismissed them as "agents" and "predecessors."

In 1992, amid allegations of financial misappropriation in the ANC's department of social welfare, which she headed, a Johannesburg newspaper published details of a sexual liaison with her deputy, Dali Mpofu. Forced from her post soon, and rejected by her husband, Winnie Mandela again appeared flustered. But she soon rebuilt a power base in the sprawling squatter camps around Johannesburg, where she successfully portrayed herself as the champion of the oppressed. Indeed, in one such camp last week, most residents voiced their unwavering support of Mandela ("Winnie is our hero," said Stanley Makhola, 33). "They're not accusing her of anything, but it's nothing terrible."

By the time Nelson Mandela became president, she was again a force within the ANC that could not be ignored. Despite strong misgivings from some senior ANC officials, she was awarded a deputy ministry, though she herself described her post in arts, culture, science and technology as "word." Last December, she was the fifth-highest vote getter in elections for the ANC's 60-member

national executive, outperforming most of her political enemies in the organization in a compelling display of her growing grassroots support.

But within days, Winnie Mandela was again the center of controversy. Recent anti-feminist speeches, her role in a court case over assignment of a bill for the hiring of a jet for what is alleged to have been a failed illegal diamond buying joint in Angola.

A fallout with the most senior members of the ANC Women's League, of which she is president, over her "high-powered" leadership style and problems with financial management of the organization. Eleven top members resigned in protest.

A police investigation into how a \$800,000 cheque, sent by Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, was received from the Women's League into CAPP's coffers.

A row over her decision, over objections by Women's League colleagues, to undertake a joint venture with actor Omar Sharif to lure African-American tourists to South Africa for visits to

"sites of struggle," such as Nelson Mandela's birthplace and the notorious Robben Island prison, where he was incarcerated for nearly two decades.

Allegations that she has used her ministerial position to advance the career of

her daughter Zindzi as an entertainment promoter.

Her criticism of The Rolling Stones for using a white promoter during a recent tour of South Africa.

A verbal assault on the Canadian government for refusing her a visa to attend a conference last month in Toronto because of her criminal record. (She called Canada's offer to grant her a special ministerial passport "an insult.")

Locked in a new power struggle with Zulu leader Ciskei Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose Inkatha Freedom Party walked out of Parliament in a constitutional wrangle, President Mandela can ill afford the continuing blaze of negative publicity that dings his controversial wife. The latest scandal has underlined a growing perception that the new South Africa is rife with corruption. Several other incidents involving members of his governing party have captured headlines recently, leaving the president to promise tough action to stamp out corruption and to set up a disciplinary committee to deal with offenders.

But Nelson Mandela, certainly aware of his estranged wife's immense popularity among the masses at the bottom of the social and economic ladder, and possibly feeling a lingering loyalty to a former partner, has not fired her, despite the embarrassment of her escapades. If she should find herself once again facing criminal charges, however, even the *Tribune* Queen of Africa may run out of protection.

CHRIS BRAMMUS in Cape Town

Mandela: estranged



Yeltsin: admitting failure to curb organized crime

Russia's painful and chronic transition from communism to capitalism has given the country a homicide rate of 22 deaths for every 100,000 people—one of the world's highest. Indeed, three deaths from the 61-member Duma, the lower chamber of the national legislature, have been announced during the past year—gassing bankers and businessmen on a largely untried list of 47 contract killings in the Moscow area alone during that period. Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who has made few public appearances in recent months, broke his near isolation to visit state television headquarters in Moscow. Addressing an audience packed with Yeltsin's colleagues, he announced the firing of Moscow's prosecutor general and chief of police for their lack of effort in the war against crime. But he also accepted his share of responsibility for the country's growing lawlessness. Said Yeltsin, who paused frequently to rest in his chair: "I bow my head to a man who has not taken sufficient measures to curb his bandits, corruption, bribery and crime."

Certainly, Yeltsin had been familiar with the murky and dangerous world of Russian business. As the newly appointed director of Ostankino (state-run television), his primary task was to reverse the privatization of a broadcasting empire that reaches some 200 million viewers across the former Soviet Union. It was a decision he made recently in that role—to ban advertising from Ostankino's airwaves for five months—that could have guaranteed success in Russia's burgeoning media to order his death. That has not happened. Yeltsin appeared, in part, to represent the line of business offices at the station that were widely acknowledged to be siphoning money from ad revenues worth about \$30 million each month. Said Alexander Yakovlev, a former Soviet ambassador in Canada, currently serving as the chairman of Ostankino's board of directors: "It is clear that we looked someone's path."

But it was not just a overly intense TV exposure that Rossi's married from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean last week. Instead, everyone from Yeltsin to the hundreds of people who silently laid a carpet of red carnations in the courtyard outside Yeltsin's apartment building acted as if they were acknowledging the loss of a close family friend. To Russian TV viewers Yeltsin was a friendly, witty man who, during the past eight years before the camera, could smile effortlessly from presenting hard-hitting newsmagazine shows to hosting Pin Gledits (Gledits at Dream), a successful quiz program modeled on the venerable U.S. TV game show, *Risk of Ruin*. And *Clash of the Titans* (Clash of the Titans), a talk show that featured Yeltsin wearing jacket suspenders for the ease favored by CNN network host Larry King, became one of the most popular programs in the former union. Said independent TV commentator Vyacheslav Kozlov: "What was it, a weekend party who came into the homes of millions of families four days a week."

Yeltsin's colleagues in state and private TV outlets demonstrated their growing independence by suspending all regular programming on March 3. They broadcast only Yeltsin's photograph or reports of his murder until 7 p.m., when they carried a two-hour program that was essentially a wake, featuring as guests many of his friends and colleagues who expressed outrage at the government's failure to curb rampant crime and corruption. Yeltsin has promised before to crack down on criminals. As the indignation over the death of a well-known politician grew, several, many more-well-known Russians would clearly like to entrust that job to someone else.



Yeltsin: gunned down outside his apartment

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

RUSSIA

A nation in mourning

A TV star's murder shocks Russia

More than 25,000 civilians and soldiers have died in a quasi internal war since Russian forces rolled into the rebellious region of Chechnya in December—and another 32,000 Russians were murdered last year as violent crime spread a bloody stain across the country. Though that now-languid backdrop of war, disaster and sudden death, the assassination of one man in Moscow last week shocked Russians and touched off a remarkable outpouring of emotion across the land. Confronted by two unknown gunmen as he returned home around 9 p.m. on March 3, 35-year-old Vladimir Lutsyn was shot, twice and died in the stairwell of his central Moscow apartment building. According to police, the murder of one of Russia's most popular television journalists was carried out by professional hit men who used silence-equipped Browning 7.65-caliber pistols firing often in a life-mimed SMN series. Said Igor Rodnina, chief of Lutsyn's colleagues at Russia's state television center: "We're in peril! If they can kill Lutsyn, they can kill anyone."

THE MAFIA AND THE PM

A Palermo judge ordered former sometime Italian prime minister Giulio Andreotti to stand trial in Sicily on charges of Mafia membership. Prosecuting authorities have alleged that Andreotti, 78, provided the crime organization in exchange for political support for his Christian Democratic party in Italy.

AVERTING A TRADE WAR

The United States and China reached a 15th-hour agreement in their dispute over intellectual property rights. China bowed to U.S. demands to throw open its tightly controlled markets to legitimate imports and to crack down on pirate compact discs, laser discs and CD-ROMs. The agreement allows U.S. companies to create joint ventures with Chinese firms to produce and distribute legitimate copies of their products and to share in the profits. In return, Washington dropped an action that would have imposed punitive 100-percent tariffs on almost \$1.5 billion worth of annual imports from China, which had threatened to ban U.S. exports.

COCAINE KINGPIN ARRESTED

Colombian authorities captured one of the top leaders of the Cali cartel, decapitating the cartel as a decisive blow against one of the world's most powerful drug organizations. Jorge David Rodriguez Cordero, 41, an ex-mayor brother of Miguel and Gilberto, the regulated heads of the Cali cartel, which controls more than 70 percent of the cocaine smuggled into the United States.

A CUSTODY BATTLE

The chief prosecutor in the D. C. Brian S. Glickman, U.S. attorney, took himself on the defensive when he outgassed husband asked a California judge to grant him primary custody of the divorcing couple's two sons, aged 3 and 5. Gordon Clark contends that his wife's job keeps her working in the States and prevents her from adequately caring for the young children.

BACK TO THE FUTURE

Polish parliamentarians elected former communist official Jozef Oleksy prime minister. Oleksy, 45, will be the seventh prime minister since the Solidarity trade union led a democratic revolution that overthrew the communists in 1989. Former communist officials have been returned to power across Eastern Europe on a wave of dissatisfaction with unemployment and falling living standards in the transition to free-market economies.

World NOTES



A U.S. warrior watching the UN pull out from Mogadishu: a reign of anarchy

A setback in Somalia

With parties shorn from cannons and machine-guns, U.S. marines carried the cost of more than two years of bloody military intervention in Somalia during which 112 peacekeepers were killed. The American soldiers, aided by Italian marines, prevented the evacuation of 2,400 UN peacekeepers sent from Pakistan and Ben Gledits, the last in a multinational force that once totaled 30,000 men from 38 countries, including Canada. As the soldiers left the airport at Mogadishu, the war-torn capital, looters swarmed into the runway and into nearby buildings. So-called technical, racial Somali clansmen in heavily armed trucks, crashed on to the tarmac to stake their claims.

The mission, which cost about \$5 billion, failed in its objective to establish a functioning government for Somalia, but it did end the main survivors that, along with war and the famine, claimed the lives of an estimated 350,000 Somalis in 1992. In announcing the peacekeepers' withdrawal, which he described as a "setback," UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali pledged that the United Nations "will not abandon Somalia." Since 1992, anarchy has reigned in the Horn

of Africa country, which is in the midst of rival armed militias, and without proper schools, hospitals or a justice system.

A narrow loss

A Republican majority in the U.S. Congress to outlaw federal budget deficits under the constitution failed by a single vote to win the required two-thirds approval in the Senate. Party leaders promptly said they will resurrect the balanced-budget amendment before the 1996 elections, and they vowed to mount special efforts to elect those who voted No, including Oregon Republican Mark Hatfield.

President Bill Clinton said the Republicans would have to get social security pensions if they wanted to eliminate the deficit—now running close to \$200 billion annually—by the target year 2003. After the proposal's defeat in the Senate's midday vote, Majority Leader Robert Dole himself noted No, a necessary step under the rules to call a future vote on a slightly altered bill. If that were to pass, it would then need approval by 30 state legislatures to become part of the constitution, a result achieved only 17 times in 200 years.

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By week's end, however, there was growing evidence that Lenson's bosses had known about his trading practices and should have understood the risks. Indeed, concerns about

the activities of the firm's Singapore office dates back at least to 1982. In March of that year, a Singapore director wrote a memo in which he warned that the company was "in danger of setting up a structure which will subsequently prove disastrous." And in August, 1984, according to an investigation by the Singapore International Monetary Exchange, the company "operated, controlled and/or had a Singapore office without that person [Lee] having been given the 'necessary' power. Yet as recently as Feb. 6, company executives insured SINGEX that they were in full control."

The direct effect of the Borings debacle on Canada is modest. Both Canada's chief forest regulator, John Palmer, and Ed Warner, chairman of the influential Ontario Forestry Commission, say that they expect losses in Canada to be "insignificant." But, Palmer added, "it will add to the general concern about derivative products and everyone will look even harder at their internal controls."

Wolker said that it will also encourage the development of international regulations in derivative trading. He says that the draft regulations, "which have been in the works for more than a year, call for more and better disclosure of an institution's derivative trading to regulators and shareholders." "Barings and the rest of the problems we've had in the past year," said Wolker, "just point out the need for these regulations."

In fact, just a week before the Barrings collapse, the Royal Bank of Canada and its securities dealer, SNC Dominion Securities, announced that they had hired 25 derivative traders who previously worked for now-defunct Rodder Products in New York. Another source in New York says that the

Lee: Dominant's goal is to expand its product line to better compete for U.S. corporate business. One bank insider noted that the staggering collapse of Barings had not altered the institution's view about derivatives, although "it may mean that we're going to have to get an extra signature on every piece of paper around here."

and maintain all trading positions. That overlap may have helped him hide his trading gamble from Barings senior managers. Says John Huxford, president of CIBC World Gundy: "When we knew all the facts, I don't think the Barings story is going to be about derivatives' failure. It's going to be about a supervisors failure."

Of course, most derivative users say they are prudent and cautious. And yet, derivative disasters keep occurring because sometimes one does something that is either not understood or approved by his superiors. At Kinder's trial, the most striking evidence of this was a flood of trading that was being done away from his headquarters on several levels of management, extending even to the top of the parent company, General Electric Co. In March, 1994, *Fortune* magazine quoted GE chairman Jack Welch saying that derivatives were "not a business" and that GE was "not even close to being a derivatives company." But in the weeks before his trial, Welch was buying and selling derivatives for \$200 million from derivatives trading. Still, as the derivatives casualties noted, observers are recognizing that, in the words of one *Wall Street* analyst, "derivatives don't kill, people do." The cross-trading, senior managers who traded derivatives, and the trading in London, which they pulled off the books,

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Discussion

Keywords: child sexual abuse; disclosure; social support



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Business NOTES

Screening a new deal

Complex Odessa of Toronto is merging with the sixth-largest movie chain in the United States to create the largest cinema chain in the world. Complex has signed an agreement in principle with Dallas-based Cinemark USA on a deal valued at about \$669 million. The new company, to be called Complex International, will operate 539 theatres and 2,839 screens in Canada, the United States, Mexico and Chile. That is about 600 screens more than the nearest competitor, United Artists.

According to Karp, the new entity will hold a market share of about 11 per cent of all screens in North America, serving approximately 150 million moviegoers annually. The corporate headquarters for the merged company will be in Toronto and Karp will become its president and chief



Karp: on 11-per-cent share

executive. Karp's former CEO, Lee Roy Mitchell, will move to Toronto to become the new chairman.

Projected annual revenue of the merged entity are estimated to be more than \$1.1 billion. Complex Odessa operates movie theatres in six provinces and 14 states, accounting for about six per cent of all North American screens. Cinemark owns and operates theatres in 29 states as well as Canada, Mexico and Chile.

Under the terms of the prospective merger, Cinemark shareholders receive 104 million shares of Complex stock as well as \$70 million in cash and \$50 million in promissory notes. Complex Odessa's principal shareholders, MCA Inc. and the Charles E. Bronfman Trust, will each increase their stake in the company by 34 million Complex shares

who are owed about \$345 million, would wind up with 43 per cent of the restructured company, while debenture holders would get 38 per cent.

Calling home

Sun Life Insurance Co. of Canada plans to establish a \$1.5-billion telephone service centre in New Brunswick—with some help from the provincial government. The province will lead Sun Life (\$20,000, which is almost one-quarter of the cost of setting up the call centre. The loan will be forgiven in 1999 if the company maintains 45 full-time jobs, as processed, for four years.

Sun Life says the new centre will help it improve service for its individual life and annuity clients through a 1,800 number and better technology. It will initially be staffed by about 20 employees. The company's annual payroll in New Brunswick is expected to exceed \$1 million, a figure that Economic Development Minister Leo McEachern calculates will result in the loan's complete payback within three years through increased income-tax revenues to the province.

DIRTY MONEY

A report from the U.S. state department claims that Canada remained a "pariah" for criminals trying to launder drug money in 1994. The department says that the absence of laws requiring banks to report large or suspicious financial transactions is the principal problem. Canadian banks are also faced by money launderers because of the amount of business they do between Canada and the United States.

INFLATION RETURNS

Inflation came back to life in January, rising to an annual rate of 0.8 per cent from 0.5 per cent in December. When cigarette prices are excluded, inflation last month was actually 2.0 per cent, the highest level in almost two years. Ottawa sharply cut cigarette taxes last February. According to Statistics Canada, the overall increase is due mainly to higher food and transportation prices.

TROUBLES CONTINUE

Marvin Marshall, chief executive of troubled real estate company Brunelle Inc., is seeking "anonymous support" from all its lenders for a deal that would restructure its \$1.35-billion debt. The company has sought court protection after several creditors refused to go along with Brunelle's plan. It currently has assets of \$4.1 billion and total debt of \$3.5 billion.

BANKING ON INSURANCE

The Toronto-Dominion Bank has shelved its decision to jump into car and home insurance in Ontario due to fears that rising rates have created a confused marketplace of angry consumers. TD Bank vice-president Nick Bitt said that the auto insurance market is in turmoil because many insurers have raised rates significantly in the past year. In January, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce became the first bank to enter the individual auto insurance market, vowing to offer cheaper rates than traditional competitors by bypassing agents and brokers.

NEW MCCAIN BOSS

McCaig Foods Ltd. named Howard Mann, 46, as the new chief executive officer of the \$2-billion frozen-food conglomerate. Mann is formerly a managing director of the food products division of U.K.-based Marks & Spencer. McCaig P.L.S. Harrison McCaig, who will step down as CEO of the company, says that Mann will be based in Toronto, not McCaig's traditional head office in Florenceville, N.B. The leadership of McCaig Foods has been the subject of a bitter family feud between Harrison and his brother, Wallace.

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Michael Buzgala, Pat Jozak, Susan Johnson, Bruce Johnson, Heather Kibben, Grant Kays, John Kibben, Johnny Kibben, Ted Kibben, Kennedy Dave Kays, Eric King, Bobby Knight, Lady Gay, Lillian Lillian, Robert Lillian, Adam Lillian, David Lillian, Bruce Lillian, Eric Lillian, Scott Lillian, Jack Lillian, Kim Lillian, Scott MacKinnon, Doug MacKinnon, Gordon MacKinnon, Bill MacKinnon, Clark MacKinnon, Paul MacKinnon, Leah MacKinnon, Phil MacKinnon, Rob MacKinnon, Rick MacKinnon, Dan MacKinnon, Lynn MacKinnon, Sharon MacKinnon, Jan MacKinnon, Scott MacKinnon, Jack MacKinnon, Jim MacKinnon, David MacKinnon, Scott MacKinnon, Bob MacKinnon, Tom MacKinnon, Steve MacKinnon, Rebecca MacKinnon, George MacKinnon, Ross MacKinnon, Jeff MacKinnon, Jimmy MacKinnon, Brian MacKinnon, Doug MacKinnon, Jason MacKinnon, Cole MacKinnon, Brian MacKinnon, Rod MacKinnon, Paul MacKinnon, Kent MacKinnon, Michael MacKinnon, Ron MacKinnon, David MacKinnon, Paul Smith, Tony Spence, Dave Stewart, Anne Spence, Ron Summers, John Spence, David Taylor, Jim Tenebrake, Richard Tenebrake, Frank Thomas, Arly Thomas, Jim Thompson, Jim Taylor, Doug Underwood, Jim Underwood, Jim Underwood, Doug Underwood, Norm Webb, Bruce Webb, Terry Whitaker, Ken Wilder, Brenda Williams, Tim Wright, Alan Yip



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How to SPOT A Reliable Service



Yes, Virginia—Santa Claus died last week

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Just before Paul Martin Sr., the veteran liberal social reformer whose son is the current finance minister, died in September, 1985, he told *The Star* in one of their final lively gatherings, "I was the father of Canada's social revolution; you will create the country's economic revolution."

That was exactly what happened last week when the Liberals brought in their second budget and the first in two decades to make economic sense. It was a watershed document because it broke the back of the defeatist psychology, subscribed to by the half-dozen finance ministers who served in the Trudeau and Mulroney cabinets. They believed—or were convinced into believing—that their budgets contained sublime but marginal reductions of obvious extravagances; their government's political base would be threatened. That was why they over-estimated the kind of deep cuts that would trigger the cultural revolution required before the Canadian economy could regain some semblance of reality.

Martin broke that psychological barrier, partly because he had no choice—the international money traders were in a snarl, waiting to turn Canadian dollars into pesos—but more significantly, because detaching a cultural turnaround in what he believes in, and has for some time. Before he took over the finance portfolio, Martin came out to Vancouver and we spent an afternoon chatting about the future. "Central governments such as Canada's," he told me, "have become too small to deal with the big, global issues, yet they remain too large and distant to deal with problems of local concern. So the challenge is to redefine the role of the central government so as to do what it can do a limited number of things well, instead of attempting to pretend it can do everything for everybody."

That turned out to be the guiding philosophy of last week's budget, as expressed in the kind of deep expenditure cuts and future

Paul Martin's budget is the blueprint for a social revolution that will eventually change the way we live and work

black transfers to provinces it put into place. Above all, the document began the process of deriving public policy from its 39-year deep freeze. Martin is convinced that most of our fiscal troubles go back to 1933, during the GFCO crisis, when Prime Timmins tried to isolate Canada by claiming we could withdraw our assets and operate on oil prices lower than the rest of the world. "From then on," Martin told me in 1980, "we stopped evolving. When Jean Mulroney took over, he had a tremendous mistake at just the right time, but didn't understand what he was supposed to do with it. By the time he did change his mind, it was too late. You can't throw change onto a country without leading the cultural shift that would make it acceptable."

That's what this budget really is, a *Maquis Carta* of the new Canadian society, and especially the role of government, will evolve from now on. The cultural shift that Martin is pushing will force Canadians to finally accept the fact that universality is dead and that Santa Claus "don't live here any more." Universality was a wonderfully Canadian idea—the notion that everyone was entitled to everything, so that those who really needed it

social help would have no stigma. During most of the first four decades after the Second World War, Ottawa's social net kept growing until it now accounts for most of the financial burden expanding our national debt.

What Martin realized was that there was no point, anymore, to waste people's energy expecting governments to provide every conceivable service from wants to needs. This year's budget is only the first installment in a long winding road back to fiscal sanity. Martin is only beginning his own flowering career in spurs internationally with this budget and having established the fact with his cabinet colleagues that Canadian voters are smart enough to understand the deficit crisis and why we must waste our way out of it, he will now concentrate on trying to rationalize this country's three levels of government. Part of that exercise will involve deeper social programs cuts in the two budgets following this one. That was why Lloyd Axworthy's review was halted. In fact, Axworthy refused to sign off the budget's self-reinforcing provisions until the very last minutes before its presentation had to be announced.

As more and more people study the details of the Martin budget, they are beginning to realize that this is a truly remarkable document, not merely the annual accounting of Ottawa's revenues and expenditures. It is the blueprint for a social revolution that will eventually change the way we live and work. The first senior Ottawa bureaucrat to understand that was Tony Mason, the CBC president who resigned in protest. "This will change the definition of public broadcasting in Canada," he warned, underlining a point stressed by the CBC's chairman, the *Maclean* Corp. was being asked to absorb over the next three years.

Apart from his courage in standing up for his principles—which Patrick Watson, who was supposed to be the embodiment of conservatism, admitted publicly, during his three years as the CBC's chairman—what Watson realized was that the CBC would soon cease to be a broadly defined and noncommercial institution. That's what revolutions are all about; they change value systems and nothing is sacred. That's what is about to happen to every institution that has been a whisper of federal funding in it.

Canada's fundamental problem is that over the past few decades, our social objectives became divorced from means and productivity. That's why the culture of entitlement—the notion that we are owed a living by politicians just because we vote for them—broke down. For years now, we have consumed more than we have earned, and we must now pay back the debts we incurred by earning more than we consume, with governments using the difference to pay back the country's negative net balances.

Martin's budget will cause much human suffering. But without it or some comparable document, we would not have made it through. Now, we have a chance.

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MEDICINE

High-tech limbs

Adapting to an artificial leg can be gruelling

Adèle Bifield was just 33 years old when a doctor told her that she had cancer in her liver—and that surgery would have to amputate her left leg. "My initial reaction was disbelief," recalls Bifield. "For days, my tears seemed to run down the clock." Eventually, Bifield adjusted and soon was learning to use an artificial leg in the tiny Newfoundland outpost of St. John's where she was raised. In an era of AIDS and rising cancer rates, the odds of amputees rising find a place in the public spotlight. But the tragedy that troubled Bifield, Quebecois Lucien Lacroix Bouchard, whose left leg was destroyed by a bacterial infection in December, faced a situation as the estimated 4,000 Canadians who lose limbs each year. Like Bouchard, who copped



Michael Devlin in workshop. Technology has improved his job.

fast recovery by walking into the House of Commons last month, most amputees adapt to prosthetic devices that at first seem overwhelmingly awkward and painful. "What is amazing," says Dr. Denis Raymond, who supervised Bouchard's recovery at the Montreal Rehabilitation Institute, "is that the vast majority of people will learn to live with an artificial limb. The will to go on with life is very strong."

Still, doctors and other experts in the field say that Bouchard's progress has been remarkable. "He's quick—he's walking very well," says Dr. Michael Devlin, a specialist in rehabilitation medicine at Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital. "Some people are just naturally good at using an artificial limb—and Bouchard seems to be one of them." It also helps that Bouchard and other amputees today can be equipped with prosthetic devices that are lighter and technologically superior to the clunky artificial limbs of 30 years ago. They are aided, as well, by the team approach that rehabilitation hospitals have developed to prepare amputees physically and psychologically for a successful reentry into the world. And they have inspiring examples to follow—most notably cancer victim Terry Fox, whose attempt to run across the country with an artificial leg in 1980 pro-

foundly moved the nation. Even so, the challenges facing the amputee can be daunting. In most rehabilitation hospitals, teams begin preparing patients for their artificial limbs just a few weeks after their real one has been removed. At that stage, says Sharlene Campbell, a physiotherapist at St. John's Rehabilitation Hospital in Toronto, "most patients are still in the grieving process. It can go on for several years, because you're lost part of yourself." Meanwhile, seductives begin work on designing an artificial limb by making a plaster mould of the patient's stump. The mould is then used as a guide in constructing a strong plastic socket that fits over the stump and connects with the artificial leg below.

Patients and their physicians can choose from a wide variety of artificial limbs, knees and ankles that are manufactured mainly by American, British and German companies. (Bouchard and his doctors declined to release details on the type of pro-



Bouchard's accident.

thesis he is using.) Modern limbs feature such technical refinements as pneumatic or hydraulic knees that produce a natural-looking movement. "Compared to a decade ago," says John MacLellan, a prosthetist at St. John's, "the technology has improved tenfold." But artificial limbs can be costly, ranging in price from about \$5,000 for a conventional wood-and-fiberglass leg to \$12,000 for one made of a lighter, space-age carbon composite material. Personal healthcare plans provide varying amounts of coverage.

Even with a modern prosthesis, considerable effort is required to walk with an artificial leg that can reach anywhere from four to 10 lb. "For someone with an above-the-knee amputation," says Raymond, "walking with an artificial leg can require between 60 and 75 per cent more energy than before. That's why amputees need to be in top physical condition." To achieve

that, rehabilitation teams include physiotherapists who help amputees to build their strength with weights and exercises on parallel bars. In Bouchard's case, notes Sharlene

Campbell, "it helps that he's obviously very motivated." Ultimately, determined amputees can work wonders. Years ago, sports-minded people using lightweight prosthetics often can hold their own on a basketball court or soccer field—and some even climb mountains. For many amputees, the biggest challenge is to overcome the self-doubt that comes with the loss of a limb—especially in relations with the opposite sex. Bifield, 25, now works as a counsellor for the Ottawa-based War Amputations of Canada and has a steady boyfriend. "There are men," says Bifield, "who have the image of a perfect body—and they'll reject you. You have to look for someone who will love you for what you are. They reject—but you may have to date a few girls first." Even amputees who have acquired most of the physical obstacles to a normal life may have to deal with a phenomenon that affects about 80 per cent of them—the conviction that they are missing limbs or still there causing pain. Known as "phantom pain," the sensation, which can be acute, stems from the fact that neural circuitry for the missing limb still exist in the brain. In severe cases, the pain can be treated with drugs. But, says Devlin, "if a patient can put up with the pain, that's the best bet." That is a choice that Lucien Bouchard may face as he continues his impressive recovery.

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Going to the mat for God

Tales of ecstasy draw hundreds to a Toronto church

BY RAE CORELLI

The roar of God fills our minds with laughter, and we rejoice for the more to have

The master of ceremonies shouts to make himself heard over the rock band on stage behind him and the cheering crowd out front, waving and clapping at ease in the music. "Praise him to meet with God with Jesus Christ!" he cries, pouring visible and broadening his voice. "Our heavenly saints members are wearing bright pink nose tags to please tell five to receive prayer from them as we know their hearts and character and they have taken our ministry courses!" The audience responds, "Hallelujah!" "God bless you!" The MC urges caution: "Don't judge the record of God by manifestations," he says. "Don't look for manifestations!" Actually, it is hard to strain them. At the Airport Vineyard church, a former indie center on the characterless northwest outskirts of Toronto, protesters often feel over white dirt in prayer during services that can last as long as seven hours. The rest cooped four becomes littered with bodies, gasping, crying, writhing, quivering or seemingly asleep. Others dance as if to the rhythm, a lot of that is evidence of misdiagnosis, many hysteria or even psychological imbalances. But in the hall, it is a sign of God's presence, of divine love. "These wild, unpredictable accounts of spiritual ecstasy have been drawing people from

places as distant as New Zealand and South Africa to take part in what has become known as the "Toronto blessing."

Altogether, there are between 800 and 900 Vineyard Christian Fellowship churches around the world, mostly half of them in North America, and all ostensibly focused solely out of the collective place. They are among the more recent examples of the so-called charismatic movement, which began nearly a century ago with the Pentecostal movement. For thousands of transients, Protestants, the movement has since come to embody much things as belief in divine revelation through dreams and visions, spiritual healing and spontaneous worship. The Vineyard Fellowship, born in California in 1978, belongs to the growing number of independent charismatic churches that have added modern music and encourage self-expression like dancing and clapping.

What catapulted the Toronto Vineyard into world prominence began in May, 1993. It was then that Mike Dapunt, a Vineyard pastor in San Diego, came to have a prophetic that an immense wall of water like Niagara Falls would wash over Toronto in late 1993 or early 1994, launching a global spiritual revival. On Jan. 30, 1994—18 months after Dapunt moved to Toronto—Vineyard church leaders say the congregation was suddenly overtaken by the spirit of God and most fell to the floor. As the word spread, the ranks of believers grew from those 350 in more than 700—and the church moved into bigger quarters. "People ask,

"Why Toronto?" said Dapunt, 38, now one of the Airport Vineyard's seven pastors. "God has a sense of humor and never gives the obvious places. They once said of Jesus, 'Can anything good come out of Nazareth?'"

For countless troubled Christians, however, is entirely of little consequence. Thousands of them, together with curious Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Baptists, have converged on the Airport Vineyard by plane, train and automobile in the past year. Among them was Anglican chaplain Michael Knowles, assistant professor of New Testament studies at the University of Toronto's Wytheville College. "I found their preaching was clearly true and sometimes it was mystical," says the 35-year-old Knowles. But he liked just what happened, including the moment when "somebody prayed for me. I felt a sense of profound peace and decided I didn't want to steal any more and I'll live here." He has gone back several times and concluded that "by and large, what happens there is genuine, which is not to say that some of the people couldn't use a little psychological help."

Both Knowles and a fellow Wytheville College professor, David Reed,

Worshipper receiving prayer at the Airport Vineyard (left); the joyful feeling is of divine love or even hysteria?



say that the broad appeal of the Vineyard Fellowship and other charismatic churches reflects the failure of Protestantism, handicapped by tradition and old-fashioned doctrine, to engage sceptical devotees. "We have lost the ability," says Reed, "to communicate our faith, our beliefs, to the next generations." At the same time, he contends, the Vineyard churches must provide more teaching and guidance to followers "because they're not going to spend the rest of their lives shaking and falling down."

While Knowles and Reed may have mixed feelings about the Airport Vineyard, the hundreds who gather there on a recent Thursday evening displayed neither doubt nor inhibition. One after the other, they walked to the front of the hanger-sized hall in tell of spiritual revivification. In Düsseldorf, Germany, Peter Harris, 40, Pittsburgh, Pa.—there were often lost amidst them and a glimpse. "I thought, 'where were we sleeping,'" declared a woman from Manchester, England. "I saw a whole lot of angels." "Praise the Lord," shouted the MC, crowded out by the

approving roar from the people sitting on the padded grey chairs. The loud played and the bells appeared on an eighty-foot screen off to one side.

Some people were there for the first time, but most, like Douglas Mayfield, a 45-year-old carpenter from Rochester, N.Y., have been coming for months. "It's something inside us," he said. "Remember that movie *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* when those people had to get to that mountain? It's the same thing." In one of the last rows, a woman's anguished crying caught the attention of the churchgoers. She lay on the mat open space beyond the chairs, an African girl gently performed what looked like a ritual. "You can feel the presence of God in love," said Mayfield. "I have felt the presence of God. I have felt God."

He was apparently not alone. "It makes you feel so much more happy now, so much more love for other people," said Gerard Hebert, 45, a salesman from Mississauga, Ont. How it works in the Holy Spirit, how to believe in the Holy Spirit, that is a lot of people don't believe in the Holy Spirit because they don't know what it is because you can't see it, right? Those sentiments were widespread but not universal; some people were not totally sold and had come merely out of curiosity. A man from nearby Dringston, who declined to give his name, said he came once, thought it was nice and had returned. But he had something "settled off," he replied. Bob Barnett, a 45-year-old Toronto placement consultant, said "I'm not a religious person, but I see a lot of very appreciative people happy to be here. Maybe if we had more of this and less deconstructionist stuff, we'd all be better off."

Lay pastor Mary Audrey Raycroft, a 61-year-old lifetime nurse who left the United Church of Canada because it had become "spiritually unfulfilling," preached the sermon. It was hard to hear her, but nobody, including Raycroft, seemed to mind. Later in an interview, the same question what brings people here? "Something is happening in their hearts—a reality, a faith they've longed for but never had," he replied. "Most of us here is the core of whatever's happening here, but it's not the same as the rest of us having our hearts."

After the sermon, the pink-tagged two-member prayer teams moved into the crowd. One member placed a hand on a worshipper's forehead, the other—called a "caterer"—stood behind to catch him if he fell. Scores did. Some back led at the knees others, apparently rigid, fell backward. All were lowered gently to the floor where a few remained for hours. Among them was Rev. Alan Grainger, 46, a pastor at the Prince Fellowship Church in Chatham, Ont. "When I went down, it was just kind of a release. I got a real freedom and so. I used to be with the blue robes and selling down and all that stuff. Now, there's no connection. Praise God!"

The blend of evangelism and personal stories has transformed the so-called Toronto Blessing hallways around the world. In communities across South Africa, there are Vineyard-style weekend church services, which one local cleric described as "individualistic, dogmatic manifestations of divine ecstasy." During one service, a 10-year-old girl

swayed as the floor and a middle-aged woman insisted she had been "married" by Jesus.

In England, James Moorhead, the wife of the pastor at a Vineyard church near London, told her colleagues last May of her visit to the Airport Vineyard. She was amazed to find the closing prayer at a west-central London Anglican church the following Sunday, and churchgoers Mark Edwards, 45, a New York City insurance broker, "I saw a power and scale we had never seen before," although he insisted that the blessing was locally lessened, not imported. The church, however, has once had to hold a several evening service to accommodate the faith—up to about 2,000 from 900. Even so, says Eldon Deen, "we are shepherds. We don't take everything that comes along and say, 'Oh, that comes from God.' We pause. 'That's it! In God, we don't want to miss it.'"

With BRUCE PALMACE in London and CHRIS EDWARDS in Cape Town

Curling for dollars

The venerable Brier meets big-time commerce

The object of the game remains the same—sliding a hunk of gleamed Scottish granite across a patch of ice towards a goal target. In that regard, little has changed in the 44-year-old sport. Fred O'Neil and his three obscure teammates from Kenilworth, N.S., racked the curling world by capturing Canada's most prestigious honours (the Brier, or Halifax in the winter of 1989). "The competition was what it was all about," recalls the last-time member of the Kenilworth rink. "It was hard and we played out of pride."

They still do—even if the Labatt Brier, which last week returned to Halifax for only the second time since 1951, has taken on the trappings of big-time commerce and controversy. The Sports Network and CBC television will broadcast all nine days of the competition, which runs from March 4 through 12. And there is a major-sponsorship dispute over, of all things, money. A small group of players has filed a court injunction against the Canadian Curling Association (CCA), which has banned them from wearing the logos of their own sponsors at the competition, leaving them to those of the event's financial backer, Labatt Breweries of Canada Ltd.—a move some feel means a curling has come at a price.

"Who would have thought a game that resembles alcohol's board on a ice—and which seems so profoundly out of step with hockey, basketball and the other high-action sports of the 1990s—could generate such heat?" Biall asks, led to laugh at it, "I admit. Even Biall, a former pro Soccer player and a curler." Canada, without a doubt, is the world's curling hotbed. Three million viewers are expected to tune in to watch the men's final. And about 1.5 million people participate in the country's second-most popular game on ice, in Prairie towns, Maritime hamlets and Northern outposts. The local curling club provides a sense of camaraderie and community—and a place for a cold beer—throughout the contest. As Glenn Hixie, manager of New Brunswick's Florenceville Curling Club, puts it: "The risk is the one place where you can go and be sure that the local RCMP constable, the school principal, the politician

and the guy who owns the gas station."

Never is that truer than in the final week of winter when curling fever runs red-hot country. Last month in Calgary, the women's championship was crowned when a Manitoba rink skipped by Connie Lalonde defeated Alberta to capture the Scott Tournament of Hearts. On paper, meanwhile, the men's 12-team field in Halifax promises to be one of the strongest in

on Canada's invulnerable lakes and rivers 200 years ago underpinnings change. Curling becomes a full-on contest at the 1995 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan. Meanwhile, the proliferation of cash-paying tournaments now makes it possible for the best teams to make upwards of \$100,000 a year on the pro circuit.

Now, the contest is not increased commercialization of the Brier and the other prestigious amateur championships but the behind-the-scenes curlers—led by two-time world champion Bruce Howard of Midland, Ont., and their agent, The Landmark Sport Group of Toronto—are behind a campaign to sport their own sponsors' logos at the Brier. Their landmark case against the CCA has yet to be heard by the Ontario provincial court, and that trial will have no impact on this year's competition. Yet even the possibility of the challenge is a nightmare for the CCA, which has used the promise of exclusive logo rights



Defending champion Foltz: stiff competition is bad for back-to-back titles

Brier history. With an Canadian and four foreign world championships competing, defending Brier champion Jack Foltz of British Columbia will face stiff competition in his quest for back-to-back titles.

Whoever emerges as Brier champion will definitely not get rich off the winnings alone. Outside of a berth at the world championships, which are being held April 8 to 14 in Brainerd, Minn., the winners must be content to receive a replica of the original gold Brier boulder, a ring, a watch and a crest. This, so some, is cause for celebration. "Winning the Brier is a pure experience," says Foltz, who has managed the last twice. "We all give up a lot of time and money to get here. All we want to do is perform our best and represent our province."

Even so, the sport that four centuries played

location on continents to line up a bevy of big sponsors for the various Canadian curling championships. "Who knows," CCA president Lorne Munn says of the dispute, "this could have the potential to scuttle the whole deal."

No matter who wins the court case, curling's age of innocence may be gone forever but the mood was anything but depressing. In fact, it was. In the Brier Foltz, the tournament's traditional winning boulder—which reportedly sold 100,000 bottles of beer during last year's competition in Scot Drier, Nova—was used to party. On O'Neil, all that mattered was who could get a rock closest to the centre of a painted circle—an art that remains as deceptively difficult today as it was nearly two centuries ago.

JOHN BOURKE in Halifax



Modeling didn't do anything for her

A MODEL FUTURE IN SIGHT

She is following in the footsteps of Cindy Crawford, Naomi Campbell and Claudia Schiffer—well, of course, Canadian supermodel Linda Evangelista, who just happens to be her first cousin. But, says Vanessa Evangelista, she has no intention of riding on the coattails of her famous relative. "I am really lucky that I have a lot of support from my family and friends," admits the 16-year-old, semi-nude, grey-eyed teenager. "But the way I am looking at things, I am doing this on my own." After signing with the prestigious Ford Modeling Agency,

Evangelista, who is at age 16 is already a four-year modeling veteran in L.A., will spend much of the summer in New York City teaching her international cover. A student in Grade 11 in St. Catharines, Ont., who models in fashion shows and takes on photography assignments after school each on weekends, Evangelista says that she would like to keep her life as normal as possible, for as long as possible—but admits that things are about to change for her. "I am really concentrating on my career right now," says Evangelista. "Modeling is my top priority."



REMEMBRANCE OF LOVES PAST

Lauren Bacall has dominated stage and screen for more than half a century. But when the legendary 39-year-old star stepped onto the stage of Vancouver's Orpheum Theatre recently to kick off a live-set feature series by famous women, Bacall declared that it was her last, for her famous co-stars and reliable partners, that she wanted to talk about. Born of As it turned out, even Bacall ran through her strictly five-minute "lectures" and began accepting questions from the mostly female audience. The favorite topic turned out to be Bacall's 19-year love match to Humphrey Bogart, who died in 1957 at age 39. The actress, dressed in trademark black, recalled the success of the marriage—her first and his fourth—"a lot of laughter." Other questions revolved about her second, and more recent, marriage to Jason Robards ("I won't talk about Jason Robards and myself"), and the cause of her second divorce (ending her 19-year marriage to Gregory Peck). Nearly 60 years after his death, it seems, Bacall is still Bogart's baby.



TAKING HIS BEST SHOT

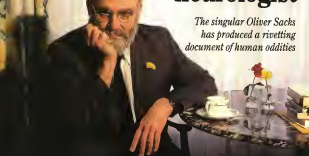
He wears rings a bell and has lost looks kind of familiar. But it is his music that is really famous. The songs of Eddie Schwartz have been sung by Carly Simon (Tonight and Tomorrow) and Pat Benatar (in life with your Best Shot). Special Girl, recorded by both American and

Meat Loaf, hit the charts worldwide. Other artists who have recorded his tunes include The Pointer Sisters, Joe Cocker and The Spinners. And that, says The Toronto-based songwriter, is more than enough to ensure him success in the music industry. But Schwartz really wants to do as performers his own songs. "I'd like to perform live on stage. To that end, he has just released his own independently produced album, *Don't You Know*, a collaboration of his hits made popular by other artists and several new songs. "It really gets to see someone do well with one of your songs," says the 39-year-old Schwartz. "But, as a creator, it's also really nice to take them back and say, 'Yeah, I did this myself.'"

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

The case of the quirky neurologist

The singular Oliver Sacks has produced a rivetting document of human oddities



BY JOE CHIDLEY

Oliver Sacks, distinguished neurologist and best-selling author, is having trouble deciding what to have for lunch. The doctor struts his beaky beard and beard and frowns as he looks over the menu—seems almost too late to be in a hotel where he is staying while promoting his latest book, *An Anthropologist on Mars*. Rather dejectedly, he writes for a club sandwich. But the thought process—listing for the right thing to satisfy his craving—clearly frustrates him. Without prompting, he describes his reaction when, almost 30 years ago, he was laid up in a London hospital with a leg injury and a friend brought him a smoker's treat. "It not only put me into cramps," Sacks recalls, "but I also had the feeling that really much of my misery in the hospital was due to an unconscious yearning for a smoked trout. Indeed, perhaps my whole life was accented about this previously unrecognized yearning. It passes—another item and a howl—and adds, 'I felt the same with regard to [Dionian philosopher] Seneca. Kirkegaard when I read him for the first time.' His eyes suddenly light up. "There must be something about filling the spot," he

beams. "When the spot is lit, there's this strange feeling that it was waiting to be lit."

Sacks is not being flip. An immensely well-read and well-spoken man, the 60-year-old New York City-based neurologist plans to quote Dr. M. F. Paré's essay, "Only constant." And it is possible to see his medical and writing career as an ongoing attempt to do just that—with his patients, with his readers and, perhaps, with himself. In books such as *Awakenings* (1973)—made into a 1990 movie starring Ricki Williams as Sacks—*The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat* (1985) and now *An Anthropologist on Mars* (Knopf), he has revised the case study as a popular literary form. He skillfully bridges the chasm between diagnosis and literature, blending sometimes highly clinical observations of neurological disorders with a generous thoughtfulness for the person affected. The search for the "spot," the vital, if mysterious, connection of doctor and patient, mind and body, is central to his work.

And *An Anthropologist on Mars* is his best book to date. In it, Sacks relates seven case studies, all of them previously published in *The New York Review of Books* or *The New Yorker*. With unfailing clarity and a seemingly encyclopedic knowledge of the latest

neurological theory, he describes the struggles and triumphs of a New York painter who suddenly becomes completely colorblind or schizophrenic, a sometime boxer whose memory ends in 1981 in a British Columbia hospital with Tourette's syndrome, which can cause self-inflicted wounds and cause uncontrollably, a man whose mind is restored after 40 years of blindness, but who still cannot see, an artist who paints only visions of the Italian village he left as a young man 50 years ago, a British autistic teenager who craves in awe architectural drawings from memory, and an intellectually gifted scholar and engineer whose autism prevents her from engaging in complex human emotions such as love. *An Anthropologist on Mars* is a neurological travel book, a geography not only of the mind, but of the human spirit.

Perhaps one of the reasons for Sacks's facility with neurological "bizarreness"—a term he uses infrequently and reluctantly to describe the people he writes about—is the fact that he is such a singular character himself. He is notoriously shy. A bachelor, he lives alone in a house on New York's City Island. He says he is celibate. Yet he is open to odd passions: his love of ferns and his yearning, for instance, to go to the bathroom in

person, he seems almost overwhelmingly different, a demeanor that belies his imposing frame, of almost 200-plus pounds of it. And as the subject of his authorial career, he is self-deprecating. "I don't actually know who I'm doing," he says. "And I prefer not to know what I'm doing. I even feel it may be dangerous."

Still, storytelling and medicine are both part of his family legacy. His father, Samuel, and mother, Hiss, were both physicians—as are his three older brothers. While growing up in groovy London, Sacks quickly learned the narrative approach to medicine from his parents. "Telling is in my blood," he says. "It was so with my parents, who liked telling their medical experiences—and to all and sundry, in a rather unmodest way."

As a child, Sacks recalls, he was fascinated by animal literature, including Charles Darwin's descriptions of the Galapagos Islands. And after receiving his medical training at Oxford in 1958, he decided to write about his own wanderings. One of his first books was a travelogue of Canada, *East Coast 1960*. "I spent several months here, sort of between the past and the future, not quite knowing which way we would go," he recalls.

■ Sacks (left), Williams and Robert De Niro in *Awakenings*, getting inside his subjects' lives

He took him to the United States, where he studied at the University of California in Los Angeles before becoming an instructor in neurology at Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York City. He is now a professor of clinical neurology there. But what remains his passion—he recently visited the so-called island of the Colorblind, Poughkeepsie, where genetic achromatopsia is rampant. "I also regard neurology itself as a form of traveling, both for the person and for the explorer," he says. "These are other lands, the lands of schizophrenia, autism, migraine, with their own customs and assumptions."

In *An Anthropologist on Mars*, the traveler Sacks plays a vital role in the seven stories. He is at times heartbreakingly subjective—as when he describes how flying in a plane glided by the airport with Tourette's syndrome made him somewhat anxious—and given to flights of philosophical fancy. "Could one be an artist without having a self?" he wonders in *Prolegomena*, about the precocious autistic artist Stephen Wiltshire. And bit by bit, he reveals his own limitations—perhaps even disaffection—with his subjects. At the end of his story about Temple Grandin, an autistic professor of animal sciences at Colorado State University whose intellectual prowess more than makes up for her emotional deficit, Sacks writes, "I said, 'I'm going to leave you. I hope you don't mind.' I hugged him—and (I think) she hugged me back."

Sacks's unique strength as a writer is that he tries to get inside not only his subjects' heads, but also their lives. "Something which was important to me as a medical student," he recalls, "was an old man dying of uremia and delirious, about whom the doctors said, 'Don't waste your time with him—it's all nonsense. But I wanted to him by the hour and found out the person behind the looking of a white face in a bed and a handicapped. It was like being prey to a dream.' With me, less kindly, Sacks does the same thing in *Anthropologist*—listening to the dancer and to the person.

Not surprisingly, he is ambivalent about the current rage for phorbic cerebral solutions to complex psychological problems. He freely admits experimenting with drugs in the 1960s. "I got it bad, and I got it stupid, and I didn't like it," he says. "I'm on the other hand, I'm not." He says, "I'm not on the other hand, I'm not."

He adds, "I'm the only person I know not on Prozac. And God knows I need more than this any of them." Why? "I get down, I get melancholy. I think how worthless and meaningless it all is." Sacks sees an analyst twice a week, but has said he is unlikely to turn to Prozac. "I think it's very important antidepressant for people who are

seriously ill," he acknowledges. "But the aesthetic, or the nature that we could all be reconfigured and happier and this and that—I think this may bypass some of the crucial experiences of being, and the sufferings and complexities that go with it."

Sacks does his thinking in swimming pools. An avid swimmer—and competitive weightlifter—university, he now goes twice a day, for as much as two hours in total. "I feel I belong in the water—I feel as if I belong in the water," he says. "I'm a rather solitary swimmer, or a way, even if there are two or three people in the same lane, you're always independent from them." He does much of his reading, meanwhile, in the bath, where he also does all of "All my paperwork," he confesses, "have been in the bath."

Sacks's enthusiasm and contradictions are famous. He is a huge fan of Star Trek. The *Nut* Generation, and recently visited the set in Los Angeles. "Oh, yes. I have a picture of myself with [the actor] character Data," he gushes. Typically, the memory leads him off on a tangent. "I thought that seeing the generic scenery of the world would be a good idea for me and it didn't. The memory taken as a historical document. With the film *Star Wars* and *Conan*, people asked me, 'Did you recognize New Guinea in all right roles?' And I said, 'No, I didn't recognize him in a single one.' Sacks left out a running joke. "The whole character, because I'm not a fan."

There is something childlike, too, about Sacks's concern for living things. Like ferns, for instance. He rather dislikes flowering plants—"modern and vulgar and new and trendy, and they're only around 100 million years." But to him, ferns are "fascinating—I think of the Garden of Eden as a fern garden, what the American or New Zealand forest, with its tree ferns. I like the idea of this individual, condensed, ancient, sensible group of plants that developed in its own way—there's really great survival." He has a similar passion for cephalopods—the squishy little things that include cuttlefish and octopuses, several of which he has kept in a bathtub. "You can't have to have a backbone," he says, "to be interesting and intelligent."

Sacks speaks with admiration of the subjects in *Anthropologist*, all of whom he regards as friends. But he seems just as fondly interested with Mr. M, the New York painter struck with colorblindness. Faced with the prospect of a cure—"a color-blindness is linked to a dysfunction of a small and little-understood part of the brain known as V4—the artist refused. He had come to terms with his new way of seeing, perceiving black and white to color."

As he goes at a vine red and yellow roses sitting nearby. In the night, flicking through the laid record books, Sacks wears a characteristic "Umm," then adds, "I feel myself looking at the color of these flowers, and imagining a blood red surface, imagining it all. The flowers are going out." He pauses. "I think what one does have seems so much more precious than it seems more precious." □



Rock of aged

He has pulled the few, and he now pines out from under a mop-top hair wave. But it was a fairly Elton John, aka the "Greatest Man of Pop," who headed onstage at London's Aladdin Palace last month to receive a Lifetime Achievement Award from the champagne-sipping hostesses who run the British music industry. The occasion was the annual BRIT Awards, Britain's equivalent of the Grammys, which have been scorned, derided and dismissed by younger audiences for sealing the saturation home, year after year, under the arms of aging rock stars such as, well, Elton John. So it was not surprising that industry executives cheered Elton (aka Glace Rock), nor that he was introduced by Sting (aka New Wave) with complimentary satellite from Bob Stewart (aka The Second British Invasion). Stewart turned 50 in January. He still has the shaggy blond locks that the wretches betray him. "Where did the years go, Elton?" he asked. Ironically. Replied Elton, miming for the cameras as always. "There's a lot of life in the old girl yet."

That is exactly what worries some of Britain's younger musicians. There is no questioning Elton John's popularity as an English icon, but there is definitely a scrutiny clubbiness to the British rock establishment, all those middle-aged jagers and Chloes who managed to survive the boom, drugs and musical fads that killed the careers of so many of their generation. Last year, the alternative magazine *New Musical Express* even created an annual mid show, the *Brit Awards*—to honor popstars bands in protest against the industry's overindulgence in golden oldies.

But the rock legends are still the engine of the British pop-music industry. Cassette and CD sales have made Elton John—who was his third Grammy last week—into the 1980s richest person in Britain with a net worth of \$280 million. North Americans, in particular, continue to snap up albums by established British stars. Ever-growing foreign sales of British pop music surpassed \$2.6 billion last year. With the BRIT Awards being seen in 53 countries (MachMusic will air the show on March 20), the industry may be reluctant to showcase newer bands and singers on a night when its best has been crowned in an international context.

They're, however, the crones finally took the legends too second in every category—Elton's longevity award notwithstanding. Instead, the winners were relative newcomers named The, Queen, Edd Reader



John (left), Elton John, little sign of the newsmen chasing on ahead



The old-timers dominate Britain's pop-music exports

pop song. American music is lyrical, whereas everything we do has 120 beats a second. British record companies aren't going for talent, they're going for a look."

Attitude has always played an important role in pop music. The Way may have written rock operas and classic albums, but they destroyed a lot of drum kits along the way. Still, the arrogant Englishman can't say he was wrong. What was classically unimpressed from John Lennon or even Boy George may have become simply obsession from bands such as Oasis, who spent their last US tour covering up audiences. "There is a bigger than this approach to English culture that grows on the more laid-back level over here," says Kim Clarke Thompson, a MachMusic producer who was raised in Los Angeles. "Too many bands have come over, slapping everything, saying, 'Too many bands have come over, slapping everything, saying, 'American rock is useless and we're the new wave.'"

Judging by appearances at the BRIT Awards, Elton has not learned that lesson. By way of thanks, lead singer Darius Jones bowed into the microphone and shouted "Wake up, America." The band members spent the rest of their time mugging and leering in the best English rock tradition, mimicking the behavior of the oldsters they praise in protest. But these stances, unfortunately, never lost the role of a protest that Elton has yet to show these old guys always had one.

BRUCE WALLACE in London

and M People. Blue, whose honey sound has been dubbed "New Cockney," won a record four months. The passing of the torch to a new generation had the British press reacting like leaping cats yet again for another invasion of North America. "It's the most exciting time in British music in the past 10 years," gushed Johnny Doo, the *New Musical Express*'s chief editor.

But North American audiences remain unimpressed. In 1988, British acts led by George Michael and Take That For Fears produced 45 per cent of the year's Top 20 American singles. Last year, it was down to 10 per cent.

This year, an album of previously unissued live performances by the Beatles is announced on All America's list of America's best-selling albums. The only current U.K. acts generating excitement are Seal, who sounds urban American, and a grunge band called Bush, now based in Los Angeles. "Thirty years old has been who were about third on the bill to some degree," is how Dee remembers Bush in Britain.

One explanation for the Atlantic divide is that the most popular forms of North American pop music—rap, grunge and new country—have little following in Britain. Most of the music coming out of the United Kingdom is technically sophisticated dance singles, with

their heart-thumping beats and often scolding sound. "The problem here is that everyone is stuck on producing dance music, which has become the mainstream, while no one in America is buying dance music," says London music producer Mickie Most, whose records have racked up sales of more than 250 million copies since the 1960s.

Most has a good understanding of what sells in America. He died in an interview in his London studio, he agreed that British music "has forgotten about the importance of singing in a

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Pedemonte (left), Black, mischievous and mysterious on the screen.

FILMS

Best intentions

Native actors excel in flawed homegrown fare

IT IS possible to generalize about what is wrong with Canadian movies, it could be said that they often present compelling characters stranded in weak scripts. That is certainly the case with *Dance Me Outside* and *Henry and Percy*. Both films are bitter-sweet tales with charm, humor and winning performances, but have themes and characters worth caring about. But their scripts—both adapted from collections of short stories set in rural Ontario—have a synthetic quality in the end, neither really making good on its dramatic premise.

Dance Me Outside is the most interesting of the two films. Based on W. P. Russell's 1977 look at Indian stories, the project originated with Hollywood screenwriter James Jones, who served as executive producer, joining the director's role to film director/careerist Bruce McDonald. Like McDonald's previous film, *Highway 61* (1991), *Dance Me Outside* has an edgy rock 'n' roll sound track, an over-the-top sense of humor—and a city action hero.

Set on the Schomberg-Kaladine reserve, the story is told from the very viewpoint of Silas Crow (Ryan Black), an 18-year-old drummer, whose best friend is a cheerful yahoos named Frank Focantini (Adam Beach). They both have vague plans to become licensed mechanics, but in the meantime they are enjoying the rise and fall of summer on the reserve and chasing immature romance with their girlfriends, Sadie (Jennifer Pedemonte) and Poppy (Suzanne Holt).

The narrative starts on a satirical note as Silas's sister, Eleana (Lisa LaCrima), shows up with her new boyfriend, Robert (Kevin Black), a white lawyer with a low-society coast and a high-powered car. Stereotypically awkward

among his native hosts, Robert makes an easy target. Eleana's mother, meanwhile, is stereotypically wise-laced and intolerant. Mostly proving her son-in-law with "So, where are the babies?" Eventually, Eleana turns to her old boss, a shrewish ex-coach named Coach (Michael Greyeyes), to help out. In a sequence that serves as the movie's comic centerpiece, she sneaks off with Coach to get imprisoned while Silas and his pals spend the night drawing her glibly husband with a mock intention to marry a couple.

Comic mischief later gives way to tragic misadventure when the white killer of a native girl is freed from jail. Blood politics split along gender lines as Silas and Frank plot a band-aid vigilante attack, and finally, tied up with their impetuosity, one more a letter writing campaign. Suddenly, the action escalates to a violent climax—with a surprise twist that seems unsupported by what has led up to it.

The movie's tone is wildly uneven. The opening scenes, parodying a spaghetti western, bears the ironic signature of its director. But from then on, McDonald abandons his post-modern style and lets the story take its own dramatic course. Winning through force, satire, romance and high drama, the whimsical narrative never seems to find its feet. But what remains exceptional about *Dance Me Outside* is its young native cast. Black and Beach create two wonderfully engaging characters, and Greyeyes

McDonald (top) focuses outsiders find each other



projects a sullen charisma in Coach. Unfortunately, the script leaves the women much less to work with, even though they play a pivotal role in the plot. On two occasions, Frank asks "Do you think women are thinking something?" As it turns out, they are: that whatever it is, it remains sketchy—like the movie itself.

Henry and Percy is a more straightforward tale. Based on the severely handicapped style of a TV movie. But at its heart is a superb, thoroughly captivating performance by native actor Gary Farmer. Set in a rural community during the Great Depression, the story is a morality tale about tolerance towards the mentally challenged and emotionally disturbed. Farmer plays a childlike, naïveté-faced Henry who befriends his nine-year-old autistic neighbor, Percy (Kevin Macdonald).

Henry, a child in a man's body, is able to draw Percy out of his shell, where others have failed. But the older character—who has no aptitude for riding, carpentry, smoking, chess and playing the harmonica—is an unorthodox role model. His carelessness occasionally puts Percy in physical danger. And his benign affection for the boy soon becomes the object of vicious scornful anger by the community. Pressure mounts to have Henry institutionalized as an orphan called the Cove. And Percy risks losing the only person who can communicate with him on his own level.

Writer-director Gary Loebler, who is based in Pickering, Ont., adapted *Henry and Percy* from a series of short stories by his late father, university professor Ken Loebler. It is the film-maker's first feature, and it is credit-crushed. Loebler has photographed his idyllic rural setting with a loving eye, and he has assembled a fine cast. As Percy and Monica, Verlin's anxious parents, Robert Joy and Nancy Henry strike just the right note of paternal ambivalence towards the gentle lad who has seduced their son's affections. Margot Kidder reveals in the economy of her role as Maibet, a scrappy prostitute with a wooden leg. Eric Peterson brings noble integrity to the role of Lovejoy, Henry's sternest father. And director David Cronenberg makes a cameo house call as a narrow-minded doctor.

In the end, *Henry and Verlin* doesn't lose touch with the very of its parts. The story, which takes a safe and predictable course, feels immoderate in the morning, is too hot and dried. Still, as Canada's answer to *Pursuit of Happyness*, Loebler's film is at least free of the sentimental gimmickry that Hollywood brings to its conceptions of mental illness—just as *Dance Me Outside* offers a portrait of native life that is decidedly less romantic than the one in *Dance Me Outside*. As the movies, however, authentic characters and well-timed moments can only go so far.

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The lesson of Nick Leeson

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Your agent, some months ago, once enrolled for the celebrated evening seminars at the University of Toronto conducted by Marshall McLuhan, the premise that to one could ever understand

Tom Wolfe, headquartered from New York City, posed the question: what if McLuhan in fact was the most innovative thinker since Darwin, Freud and Marx—what if he's right? That the medium is the message. At most no one could understand.

One point McLuhan made was that artists—writers, painters, whatever—are the 19th Line of the future—the Darwin Early Warning system in the Arctic that was supposed to tell us when the Roswell saucers were arriving. Artists are always ahead of their times, if only we would listen to them.

And so we are amazed to Nick Leeson, the 28-year-old computer genius in Singapore who can shake world economies more than J.P. Morgan or the Vanderbilts or the Rothschilds ever could. Thanks to the brilliance of the old money dynasty of Barings, the bank that financed the Napoleonic wars and funded the CIA and Grand United Railway that evolved into the CN that Paul Martin has just privatised—a little rest from working class but who is good at computer jiggery-ponky can shake the Bank of England.

We now shift to but first to Toronto. There at lives one Linda Davies, model/actress, drop dead gorgeous. She arrives in Vegas restaurant where the expense accounts fly, in the current jargonistic lingo short skirt and knee-high boots and stops to think. The business lady.

She is a product of Oxford, in the great glass degree of politics, economics and philosophy. She thinks she will do something different. She will attempt to invade the male world of the City—London's square-mile ghetto of bankers and now red vipers (that has been (just) Leeson) the world's financial centre.

With her brogue, she succeeded in the new world of arbitrage and computers and leveraged buyouts for six years—making a year of



in New York to master on Wall Street any day. One day, strong at her computer that at a touch linked her to all the red tape, managers in Manhattan and President Tokyo and Hong Kong, she had an idea.

With all this power given to the greedy little devils around her, she thought what if? What if someone wanted to expense last power? She quit and wrote a novel, based on one of these computer who-whats who decided to exploit the system, make a fortune, who's also being employed by the bank at England as a male who would not on his own.

The "novel," *Nick of Viper*, has made her internationally famous and affirms. The title of course is done in darkness at the Gate, below the Bay of the millions (involved) recent scandal of KGB Nabucco, the whole of Whistler's Rose, Johnson, Rose, Maloney's job who used to use his company's executive jets to fly his dog to golf tournaments.

Linda Davies, now only 31, is an intense social star. Her book has been translated to 16 countries. Little, Brown of Canada published it here last year. *BusinessWeek*, who print John Grisham, grabbed her and is just putting it out in the United States. She's completed the obligatory publicity tour (she's bought a lot of \$2 million).

All she is doing, naturally, is proving McLuhan's point. She wrote three years ago what overwhelmed little Nick Leeson across placed in Singapore last week. When computers talk only to computers, where are the well-dressed members of the Oxford aristocracy who own the bank where the Queen banks? They're still at the club over port.

Leeson, the working-class kid from Watford, says his Barings losses leave all along what he was doing and were just hoping he made the big score. Does anyone believe that those trading with Michael Milken—who went to jail for raising more personally in one year than McDonald's worldwide—did not know what he was up to?

Barbanas are at the Gate. It is a Nick of Viper. Claps who take themselves bankers looking the heavy lifting to various young men who see themselves outwitting at 33 if burned out not come first. Leeson bowed to friends of making \$4.5 million in the previous year. Why did he want more? Because the anonymous culture of the computer, so tempting, made it so easy.

Linda Davies, now in *Forty Four* and every, is working on the sequel, *Wilderness of Mirrors*. She has discovered, her London and New York bond order background in forming her, that—Hang Kong disappearing as a money market with China taking over the British colony in 1997—the end but not the end. Where Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich and Bill Clinton are to be.

Signs will be the new order of the fastest growing money market on the Pacific Rim. And guess where Linda Davies, with the fish on bill and the Oxford degree, is doing some of her research? At the Vancouver Stock Exchange, the Wild West version of the casino.

Where they make Nick Leeson's mistake every week. Where those in charge pretend not to know what the kids in red suspenders are doing on their computers.

Nick Leeson just took it to the extreme. The computer age allowed him to talk only to other computers, and the old boys who employed him expected him to be the club and hoped he was going to make them millions.

McLuhan would nod and laugh. Linda laughs and goes to the bank.

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